





SCOTLAND SINCE THE UNION

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LORD GEORGE MURRAY.
From a Painting by J. DAVISON, 1738.

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His Grace the Duke of Atholl, K.T.*

SCOTLAND

FROM THE TREATY OF UNION WITH
ENGLAND TO THE PRESENT TIME

(1707-1907)

BY THE REV.
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WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY
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PREFACE

THE ordinary text-book of Scottish history invariably ends with the Treaty of Union in 1707 and text-books of English or British history rarely contain any reference to Scottish affairs after that event, except perhaps a brief account of the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. Scotland, however, did not break away from her own past at the union, but continued her national history, not only as an integral part of the British Empire, but as a separate kingdom. It is indeed with the union that the proudest and most instructive period of Scottish history begins, for it was then that Scotland began to assert her real influence as a nation on the affairs of the empire and of the world. That influence has been so great and so beneficial in all departments of human activity that the story of the development and progress of the social, industrial, and political life of Scotland since the union forms one of the most interesting and instructive chapters of modern history, yet it is a chapter which is generally but little known even in Scotland. The reason for this is no doubt to a large extent the practical absence from our school histories of all reference to Scotland during this period.

Of late years there has been a revival of interest in Scottish history and that revival has produced several

large and excellent works dealing separately with the various features of that history during the whole or parts of the last two centuries, but there is no single book which gives in brief and convenient form a complete general outline of the whole of that period. The present volume is an attempt to supply that want and to provide a much needed book that may serve either as a text-book for advanced pupils or as a convenient handbook for the general reader. From both these points of view, then, it explores, however imperfectly, a new field and contains materials never before collected in a single volume.

It need hardly be said that in preparing this volume the author has availed himself of the works of well-known recent writers on various features of this period of Scottish history, but at the same time he has taken great pains to feel his own way and to find satisfactory ground for his own views and conclusions by constant reference to contemporary and original authorities.

A. M.

17th October 1908.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BY

SIR HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., LL.D., M.P.

IT must be matter of extreme satisfaction to all Scotsmen that the necessity for increased attention being given to the detailed history of their country is receiving vigorous and enthusiastic attention. This is not merely a just concession to those feelings of patriotism which should animate the lovers of their country, but is essential to the proper understanding of many phases of our imperial history, in which Scotsmen have taken a leading part. The neglect of this aspect of the subject has done much to injure the proper understanding of English history, and it has tended to obliterate the Scottish influence in the building up of the empire. It would be a singular error were such revival of interest in Scottish national history to be considered to have merely a provincial motive.

The revival of that interest has taken practical shape in stimulating the study of Scottish history in our schools, and in the efforts made for developing that study in our universities. For the success of the effort, nothing is more necessary than the provision of textbooks, as adequate aids to the study, and with aims

larger than merely recording some of the salient features of the story.

Mr. Macrae's present volume is a notable effort in this direction and ought to serve an eminently useful purpose in arousing an intelligent interest in an important phase of Scottish history, and furnishing those who propose to take up the subject as a university study with a clear, well-informed, and well-balanced picture of the chief features of the period with which it deals. I cordially wish and confidently hope for its wide-spread acceptance.

HENRY CRAIK.

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND SINCE THE UNION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE death of Queen Elizabeth at Richmond in Surrey, on March 24, 1603, united the crowns of England and Scotland in the person of her heir and successor, King James VI. of Scotland, who then became James I. of England. But the international differences and distinctions which had grown up in the course of a thousand years of hostility and warfare between the two nations could not be effaced in a day, and another eventful century had to pass before they became incorporated into one by the Treaty of Union in 1707. By the union of the crowns the era of international warfare was brought to a close, the intercourse between the two nations became more frequent, and the differences which divided them in every sphere of life began gradually to become less pronounced. Thus the great division which arose among the people of both countries in the midst of the civil and religious strife of the reign of Charles I. was not determined simply by national conditions, and England and Scotland stood no longer arrayed on opposite sides as separate nations. The division was religious and political and Scotland became divided into a Royalist and a Parliamentary

party, which in spite of some important differences were essentially the same as the corresponding parties in England.

Under the military despotism established by Cromwell Scotland was incorporated into England with equal rights and privileges and treated with strict if somewhat stern justice. This union brought Scotland not only peace but a speedy growth of prosperity such as she had never known before, and so much did she appreciate the change that she would probably have been satisfied if the system established by Cromwell had been allowed to continue. Cromwell's policy was one of justice, which he endeavoured to carry out in his own way, and much as it was resented by some of the people of Scotland, it had nevertheless the effect of bringing the two nations perceptibly closer together. In providing a foretaste of the benefits of free commercial intercourse it helped in some degree to prepare the way for the incorporating union of 1707, and there was henceforth in Scotland a number of men who were in favour of union with England.

The Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 undid Cromwell's work. The political union between the two countries was dissolved. The Scots Estates or Parliament began to meet as before, and Episcopacy, which had been abolished by Cromwell, once more became the state religion of Scotland. Though a majority of the people of Scotland as a whole were probably quite willing to accept Episcopacy, and most of the landed aristocracy and of the better educated classes desired it, yet the blundering and unstatesmanlike manner in which the Scottish advisers of the king carried out the change had the effect of calling forth, more especially

in the south-west of the country, a violent opposition. In the end the opposition became an armed rising, which was being put down by Graham of Claverhouse and his "Highland host" when the Revolution of 1688 brought about another change.

The political and ecclesiastical power now fell into the hands of the extreme Presbyterians, who became persecutors in their turn. But as all these changes were brought about by the Scottish government itself, the effect was not so much to impair the relations between the two nations as to accentuate the differences of religious and political parties among the Scots themselves. Even the Massacre of Glencoe could not be said to have endangered those relations, for though the news of it was received everywhere and by all parties with horror and execration, yet the people of Scotland felt that only King William and his principal Scottish advisers were to blame for it, and its chief effect was to increase the unpopularity of the king himself and to strengthen the Jacobite feeling not only in Scotland but in England also. Thus the commencement of the reign of William found religious and political feeling running so high both in England and in Scotland, and each party regarding its own opponents with animosity so intense, that the ancient enmity which had so long divided the two nations was to a large extent lost sight of.

But towards the close of his reign the old international animosity, which for a century had to a large extent lain dormant, broke out once more. Thus the accession of Queen Anne in the second year of the eighteenth century found the relations between England and Scotland strained to the very utmost, and nothing seemed

less likely to be at hand than a union of the two kingdoms. Since the Revolution various causes had been at work to bring about this state of feeling, but the chief cause was undoubtedly the disastrous failure of the Darien expedition—a failure for which the Scots, not without some reason, blamed King William and his English Parliament. Ever since the brief period of commercial freedom enjoyed by their country in the days of Cromwell the people of Scotland had been giving some attention to the development of their commerce and industries, and the peace which followed the Revolution was a favourable opportunity for making a vigorous effort to give effect to the reasonable desire of the nation to secure, by trading, a share in the wealth of the world. This the Scots could do only by breaking through the jealous restrictions placed by the English Parliament upon their commerce, or by establishing a commercial dominion of their own. The whole of the trade of England with distant parts of the world was at this time monopolised by two great companies—"The East India Company" and "The African Company"—and though there existed between them a bitter feud, yet they were always ready to unite against any intruder upon their privileges, whether he was Scottish or English.

In 1695 the Scots Estates, acting within their undoubted rights, as the parliament of an independent kingdom, granted a charter for the formation of "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies," with a monopoly of the trade of Scotland with Asia, Africa, and America for thirty-one years. This company is better known as the Darien Company, because the founding of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien or

Panama was a prominent part of its plans. As was to be expected, this new enterprise aroused the jealousy and the opposition of the great English companies, and as they were powerful enough to influence the king and the English Parliament, not only was the support of England withheld from the Scottish company, but every possible obstacle was placed in the way of its undertakings.

The great colony which the Scots attempted to found on the Isthmus of Panama was to be called New Caledonia. It was to have a far-seeing and generous commercial policy. It was to be a free port and an open market for the commerce of the world, and its promoters, clearly seeing the possibilities of such a policy, hoped thus to raise their country to a foremost commercial position among all nations. Full of such hopes an expedition consisting of twelve hundred picked men sailed from Leith in three vessels, on July 26, 1698, to found the new colony. Another expedition of eighteen hundred in four ships left the following year. The first expedition landed at their destination on November 4, but only to find themselves confronted by unexpected difficulties. The climate proved unhealthy, the expedition was badly equipped, and the articles for trade with the natives were utterly unsuitable. They had no proper system of government and bitter dissension soon arose among them. The Spaniards, claiming the place where they were attempting to settle, made war against them, and the governors of the English colonies in the west, acting upon instructions received from home, issued severe proclamations prohibiting all subjects of the English crown from holding intercourse with the Scottish colonists, as if they were a band

of pirates. Meantime amidst many misfortunes and vicissitudes disease did its own grim work, and on April 11, 1700, a Spanish attack on a large scale by land and sea compelled the survivors to abandon the colony for ever.

Throughout all these misfortunes the English companies maintained active hostilities against the plans of the Scottish company. The king also held silently aloof, probably through fear lest a quarrel with Spain might ruin the plans of his continental policy. The disastrous failure of the expedition was a great and humiliating disappointment to Scotland, and the feeling of indignation called forth against King William and the English rose to fever heat. Whatever other lessons these events might have taught, they proved the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of ruling two independent countries under one crown, and emphasised the necessity for a closer union.

CHAPTER II

THE TREATY OF UNION

ENGLAND and Scotland, as already stated, had been united under one government for a few years in Cromwell's time, but this union was dissolved at the Restoration of King Charles II. in 1660. The benefits of it, however, short lived as it was, were not forgotten, and there were henceforth, in both countries, far-seeing men who wished to restore it. Since the Revolution of 1688 various proposals for union had been put forward from time to time, but so far were they from leading to any definite results that at the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne the prospects of union seemed more hopeless than ever, and at the time when the last Scottish Parliament was elected nothing could be more unlikely than that it should ever agree to a treaty of union with England. That Parliament was elected under the following circumstances.

When King William died on March 8, 1702, the Convention Parliament¹ which had been elected at the Revolution was still sitting, and as the whigs were anxious to avoid a general election in Scotland because of the increasing Jacobitism of that country, the Duke of Queensberry, who was one of their leaders, persuaded Queen Anne to assemble the old Parliament. When

¹ In British history a Convention Parliament is one elected without the king's writ, as the Parliaments which restored Charles II. and elected William of Orange king.

Parliament assembled the Duke of Hamilton protested against the meeting as unconstitutional, and then withdrew from the house, followed by about eighty members. The remaining members, about one hundred and twenty in number, who were nicknamed the "Rump," then passed an Act declaring their meeting to be a lawful and free session. In reply to a letter from the queen urging the importance of union, the Rump then passed an Act appointing commissioners to meet other commissioners appointed by the English Parliament, and to make preliminary arrangements for a treaty of union. These commissioners failed, however, to arrive at any understanding and were soon dissolved. So far the members of the Rump had been unanimous in their proposals, but when an attempt was made to introduce a measure requiring all office-holders to abjure the Pretender great dissension arose among them, and the Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved after sitting for fourteen years.

In the election which followed, during the autumn of 1702, the Earl of Seafield, on behalf of the whigs, promised the Jacobites that if they supported Queen Anne they would be admitted to a share of the government of the kingdom and receive toleration for their Episcopalian religion. The result was that the new Parliament contained a strong party of Jacobites who were bitterly opposed to the union, because they saw in it the destruction of all their hopes of a restoration of the Stuart dynasty, and at their head were two of the most powerful men in Scotland, the Duke of Hamilton and the Duke of Atholl. A second party, known as the Country party or the *Squadrone Volante* (the Flying Squadron), consisted of a considerable body of active

and able members who had adopted republican principles and had their own reasons for objecting to union with a powerful monarchy like England. The chief man of this party was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. Stronger, however, than these two parties combined was the whig or court party. The leader of this party was the Duke of Queensberry, who was appointed Queen's Commissioner and who had several able men among his supporters.

The first session of the last of the Scottish Parliaments was opened on May 6, 1703, with the pomp and pageant which were usual on such an occasion. The stately procession of the Royal Commissioners from Holyrood Palace up the Canongate and the High Street to the Parliament House at the opening of a new parliament was called the "Ryding" of the parliament. In front rode the sixty-three burgh members dressed in black velvet and each attended by a lackey. Then came the shire members, numbering seventy-seven, more conspicuously dressed and each attended by two lackeys. Then came the various grades of nobility arrayed in gorgeous robes and attended by more lackeys according to their rank, a duke having as many as eight. After the nobility came heralds bearing the crown, the sceptre, and the sword of state. Then last of all, according to the feudal custom, which in state pageants placed the higher ranks behind, came the Royal Commissioner himself, accompanied by a brilliant escort of cavaliers. The riding of the Scottish Parliament was a display of which the greatest country in Europe might have been proud, and a traveller of the period speaks of it as making a grander appearance than he had ever seen in any foreign country. It was a spectacle that appealed

strongly to the pride and patriotism of those who beheld it and did not occur frequently enough to become too familiar. As there was no king to represent at the opening of the Convention Parliament there had been no riding since the Parliament that was elected at the accession of James VII., in 1685, and the present riding was to be the last.

At this time the feeling against England, which the Darien disaster had aroused throughout the whole of Scotland, was at its very highest, and the new Parliament proceeded at once to place obstacles in the way of union by passing an "Act for the Security of the Kingdom." This Act provided that, on the death of Queen Anne without issue, the successor chosen by the English Parliament should be excluded from the throne of Scotland unless such conditions of government were settled as would secure the trade of Scotland from English or any foreign interference. This Act enjoined also that all able-bodied men should muster immediately for military training and that the kingdom should be placed in a state of defence. The Queen's Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, refused to give this Act the royal assent, which was done by touching an Act with the sceptre, but it was passed again the following year, 1704, and so threatening had the attitude of the Parliament become that the Commissioner dared not withhold the royal assent any longer. The Scots now began seriously to prepare once more to give battle to the ancient English enemy unless their reasonable demand for commercial equality was granted.

As Englishmen and Scotsmen enjoyed the privileges of citizenship when residing in each other's countries, the English Parliament replied to the Scottish Act of

Security by threatening to treat Scotsmen resident in England as aliens deprived of all the privileges of a free-born Englishman, and to stop the importation into England of cattle, coal, and linen, which were the chief products of Scotland, until both kingdoms could agree to accept the same successor to the throne.

While the international feeling was thus becoming more and more strained, a Scottish ship, *The Annandale*, bound for India, was seized in the Thames, at the instance of the English East India Company, for an alleged breach of the company's rules. Shortly afterwards, in August 1704, a large English vessel, *The Worcester*, under Captain Green, put into the Firth of Forth for repairs, and some of her crew, while drinking on shore, spoke in a way which led to a suspicion that *The Worcester* was a pirate and had robbed a long missing ship, *The Speedy Return*, belonging to the Scottish East India, or Darien, Company. On this suspicion, the secretary of the company, Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, seized the crew of *The Worcester* and brought them to trial. They were sentenced to death, but as the evidence on which they were condemned was imperfect the queen ordered a respite so that further inquiry might be made. In the meantime, however, the Scotch Privy Council weakly yielded to the clamour of the Edinburgh mob and Captain Green with two of his crew were hanged on Leith sands in April 1705. Though there is strong reason for believing that Captain Green and his crew had been guilty of piracy, yet they were probably not guilty of the seizure of *The Speedy Return*. These violent and illegal proceedings naturally gave great offence in England and were almost a beginning of war.

It was impossible for such strained relations to continue for any length of time, and to the wiser and calmer statesmen of England it was becoming more and more evident that the only possible choice was either war or commercial equality. The possible results of a war, after a century of international peace, were too terrible to contemplate, and whatever the issue of it might be it could prove in no sense advantageous to either country. Scotland was still a separate and independent kingdom with a perfect right to regulate her commerce as she pleased, and to found colonies wherever she could, and, in spite of the failure of the Darien expedition, the enterprise and liberality which she was beginning to show in her industrial and commercial undertakings made the English feel that their trading interests would be likely to suffer more from Scotland as a free competitor than from Scotland as an incorporated partner.

Accordingly, when the English Parliament met in 1705 they immediately proceeded to the serious consideration of the question of union. The queen was authorised to appoint commissioners with power to treat about the question with any body of commissioners authorised by the Scottish Parliament, and to report their proceedings to the queen and to both Parliaments. After much discussion and no small display of party feeling, the Scottish Parliament resolved to follow the example set by the English and authorised the queen and her chief minister, Lord Godolphin, to select a body of commissioners to represent Scotland in the proposed deliberations. Both Parliaments made it a condition that the commissioners should not propose any change in the worship,

discipline, or government of either of the national churches as by law established. The commissioners, numbering thirty-one for each country, began their sittings at Whitehall on April 16, 1706, under the presidency of Lord Somers, a man of integrity and honour, to whose tact and wisdom the success of their labours was largely due, and the queen, who was most anxious to see the union accomplished, occasionally encouraged them by her presence at their meetings.

The Scottish commissioners were in favour of a federal¹ union, which would still leave them their parliament; the English, however, were wisely resolved to have an incorporating union—one kingdom, one parliament, one successor—as the only form of union worth striving for, and the Scottish commissioners finally yielded on condition that there should be complete reciprocity of citizenship and trading privileges between the two countries. Some difficulty was experienced in arranging the details of taxation and of parliamentary representation, but the deliberations of the Commission were marked throughout by wisdom and judgment and by an earnest desire to promote the national interests of both kingdoms; and in spite of the difficulties they had to face, they brought their arduous labours to a close on July 23 by presenting to the queen a draft of the treaty which they had drawn up. In thanking them the queen expressed the hope that the treaty would at once be approved by both Parliaments, and that the union, which would be of

¹ A federal union or government is one in which two or more states, while independent in home affairs, join together for national and foreign purposes, as in the United States.

such great security and advantage to both kingdoms, would be accomplished in her reign.

On October 3, 1706, the Royal Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, proceeded in state up the High Street to open what was to prove the last session of the Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament was to have precedence in considering the proposed Treaty of Union, and Queensberry had been chosen to carry the measure through. The task that lay before him was one of no ordinary difficulty, for the change to be accomplished was greater perhaps than had ever before been brought about in any country by peaceful legislation. His conduct amply justified the choice, and it is universally admitted that it was his calmness, sagacity, and courage that preserved the nation from bloodshed, and carried to a peaceful and satisfactory issue the bitter controversy by which the whole of Scotland was soon to be convulsed. Foremost among Queensberry's supporters was John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, to whose eloquence and statesmanship in Parliament, notwithstanding his unpopularity as the author of the Glencoe Massacre, the cause of union was largely indebted for its final triumph. Other prominent supporters were the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Marchmont, the Duke of Argyll, and the Earl of Seafield. Among the chief opponents of the union were the two Jacobite leaders, the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer of Scotland, and the Duke of Atholl, both of them men of great ability and great influence, and the Marquis of Tweeddale and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the leaders of the *Squadron Volante*.

As soon as Parliament met there arose throughout the whole of Scotland a noisy and alarming opposition.

Of this opposition the Jacobites were the chief instigators, and they found ample support of a noisy and disorganised nature throughout the country. The extreme section of Presbyterians, known as the Cameronians, objected to any union with a nation in which prelacy was a state institution, and were exhorted in their opposition both by the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics. The tradesmen of Edinburgh felt that the union would deprive them of their parliamentary customers, and as the deliberations proceeded the attitude of the crowds that congregated in the streets became so threatening that they had to be held in check by the military. There were also some disturbances in Glasgow, and an effort was made to bring about a joint insurrection of such antagonistic factions as the Highland Jacobites and the Cameronians, but the presence of traitors among the latter prevented the effort from succeeding.

Early in January, as the measure was approaching its conclusion, the Jacobites resolved to make their last great effort to defeat it, under the leadership of the Duke of Hamilton; but when the critical moment arrived the duke failed them and further opposition was now felt to be of no avail. Thus the Act ratifying the Treaty of Union was finally carried by one hundred and ten votes to sixty-nine on January 16, 1707. After settling various other miscellaneous matters the Scots Parliament adjourned on March 25 never to meet again, and was finally dissolved on April 28.

The political feeling of Scotland at the time of this dissolution ran so high that it was considered prudent to avoid the excitement of a general election, and the Scottish members for the united Parliament, which

met on the 6th of the following November, were chosen from the representatives of the Commons in the late Parliament. The Scottish Chancellor, the Earl of Seafield, has been often accused of unbecoming levity for remarking as he signed the official copy of the Act of Union, which was done on March 19, that it was the end of an old song; but an assumed levity of manner may sometimes serve as a cloak for deep feeling, and there can be no doubt that the support which carried the union through the Scots Parliament was often given at a great sacrifice of national and patriotic sentiment, but its supporters felt that the union would be for the benefit of their country and time has proved the soundness and wisdom of their judgment.

In passing through the Scots Parliament the articles of treaty underwent several important changes, but the English Parliament wisely decided to accept them as they were. The Scots had thus the satisfaction of putting the measure into the exact form in which it was finally adopted. As the government had come to an understanding with the great trading companies from whom the old powerful opposition against union had proceeded, there was little or no opposition expected from the English people. The tories and the extreme churchmen, however, were prepared to offer strenuous opposition in Parliament, but the Attorney-General, Sir Simon Harcourt, cleverly thwarted their intentions, and the measure passed quickly through both Houses and received the royal assent on March 6, to come into effect on May 1, 1707. The satisfaction of the queen was expressed in a speech from the throne, in which she truly declared the union to be a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety

of the whole island, and a measure that would be remembered and spoken of thereafter to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired and expected her subjects of both nations to act thenceforth with all public respect and kindness to one another, that so it might appear to all the world that they had hearts disposed to become one people.

The Treaty of Union has been called the happy climax of the great romance of Scottish history, and from whatever point of view it is contemplated, whether we consider the patience, the tact, and the sagacity with which the statesmen of both countries faced the national prejudices and other enormous difficulties which had to be overcome, the spirit they displayed during their long and arduous deliberations, the fairness and equity of the measure itself, or the peace, prosperity, and satisfaction which it helped eventually to bring to both nations—in short, whichever way we consider the Act itself and its results, it stands forth as perhaps the greatest and most successful of all legislative achievements.

The treaty contained twenty-five articles, the chief of which may thus be summarised:—

(1.) On May 1, 1707, and for ever after, the kingdoms of England and Scotland should be united into one kingdom under the name of Great Britain.

(2.) The succession to the throne of Great Britain should be in the Electress Sophia of Hanover and in her heirs, being Protestants.

(3.) Great Britain should be governed by one Parliament.

(4.) Scotland should be represented in Parliament by

sixteen peers, to be elected out of and by their own body for each new Parliament, and forty-five members of the House of Commons.

(5.) All rights of trade, free intercourse, and citizenship should be the same for both countries.

(6.) All customs, duties, and laws relating to trade should be the same for both countries. All other laws of Scotland should remain as they were, but might be changed by the Parliament of Great Britain. The Court of Session and other law courts should also remain as they were.

(7.) The Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland should be maintained without any change.

(8.) The national flag of Great Britain should be formed by a junction of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George—the Union Jack.

As the result of elaborate calculations it was agreed that the English Parliament should pay Scotland a sum of £398,000. This sum is known as the "Equivalent" and was used to buy up the shares of the Darien Company, which was then dissolved, and to compensate Scotland by paying off her debts and in other ways, for loss caused by the adoption of the English coinage, and for the large increase caused in her taxes by their adjustment with those of England. When the money arrived in Edinburgh the mob, thinking it was a bribe, broke out into a riot, for the belief was prevalent among the people of Scotland that their Parliament had been bribed to vote for the union. The charge of bribery, which was diligently circulated by the Jacobites at the time, has since been carefully and minutely examined, and has been completely disproved. There was no bribery used to any appreciable extent.

At the time of the union the population of England was about six millions and the yearly revenue £5,700,000. The population of Scotland was about one million and the revenue only £160,000.

It was not to be expected that such a great change as the union, however carefully and equitably planned, could all at once allay the strained feeling that had so long existed between the two countries, and of which there had recently been such an alarming revival; nor is it surprising that the actual carrying out of the treaty revealed defects which its authors had failed to foresee. Consequently, the years immediately succeeding the union saw little or no improvement in the old relations between the two kingdoms, and to make matters worse there occurred various international incidents which had the effect of creating, at all events in Scotland, a strong desire to have the union repealed. The Jacobites did all they could to foster this feeling, and during the latter years of Queen Anne's reign the unpopularity of the union had the effect of greatly increasing their influence.

The first difficulty that arose as a result of the union was a commercial dispute. As soon as it became clear that the union was about to be accomplished, English and Scottish capitalists began to import stores of goods into Scotland, where the duties were small, in order to be sent, after the Act of Union came into force, as free goods into England, and so avoid payment of the English duties, which were much heavier. English merchants went even so far as to send into Scotland goods on which export bounties were paid. The bounty was claimed until May 1, and the goods then taken back duty free to England. The result was that on May 1

fleets of ships bearing this so-called Scottish merchandise began to sail into the Thames. To this mode of importation the London merchants strongly objected, maintaining that it was an undue straining of the terms of the treaty. The English Board of Customs took up their cause and confiscated the merchandise as smuggled goods. Such an incident was not calculated to improve the popular feeling in either country, but when the matter came before Parliament it was resolved for the sake of peace to admit the goods duty free, as the loss to the revenue was only small and the fraud was one that could not be repeated, the duties in Scotland being now the same as in England.

But there were various other circumstances which arose in Scotland as results of the union and led to much more serious irritation. To begin with, the taxes were very greatly increased, and that, under any circumstances, would have been a grievance. Matters were aggravated also by the fact that the management and collection of the taxes were entrusted to Englishmen, who brought with them a large number of subordinates, many of whom were men of low character whose ignorance and want of tact caused much unnecessary annoyance. It was also found necessary, largely as a result of the new system of taxation, to supplement the hereditary jurisdiction exercised by the territorial aristocracy by the appointment of justices of the peace as in England.

While the negotiations for union were still going on, and the War of the Spanish Succession, with the Duke of Marlborough's great battles, was being fought out between England and France on the continent, Louis XIV. began to consider whether he could create diffi-

culties for England by stirring up a Jacobite rising in Scotland. The unpopularity of the union was considered to provide a favourable opportunity for encouraging such a rising, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hooke, a Jacobite Englishman in the French service, was sent to Scotland on a mission of inquiry in April 1707. The Duke of Atholl, who was head of the Highland Jacobites, gave the French emissary a reassuring account of the Jacobite cause and held out prospects of success, but the Duke of Hamilton, who was head of the Jacobite party in the south, was less confident. Hooke's report, however, was considered favourable. He found the country quite defenceless, and the Jacobites prepared to raise a force of 25,000 foot and 5000 horse, if the French would come to their aid with money and an army of at least 5000 men. The people were everywhere opposed to the union with England and well disposed to the Stuart cause.

Louis considered the opportunity to be favourable, and it was arranged that the Chevalier de St. George, as Prince James was then generally called, should start from Dunkirk with an army of 6000 men in a fleet under the command of the Comte de Forbin. The Jacobites hoped that the expedition would be under the command of the chevalier's half-brother, the Duke of Berwick, who held a high command for France in the War of the Spanish Succession and was one of the most distinguished generals of the day. Preparations were commenced at Dunkirk in January 1708, but when the expedition was about to sail the chevalier was taken ill with measles and the delay caused by his illness ruined all chances of success. By the time the French ships

were ready to start a powerful English fleet under Sir George Byng had put to sea and was now lying before Dunkirk to intercept them. But the English fleet was driven away by stress of weather and on March 17 the French managed to put out to sea. In a few days they sailed into the Firth of Forth and on the 24th cast anchor before Crail on the Fife coast, intending on the next day to land the chevalier and the troops in the vicinity of Edinburgh. But Sir George Byng was in close pursuit and entered the Firth of Forth only a few hours after the French, who were soon compelled to put out to sea again. The chevalier earnestly entreated Forbin to attempt a landing elsewhere, but his entreaties were disregarded and the expedition returned to Dunkirk.

Meanwhile the Jacobites were in a state of great elation, while the supporters of the government were in extreme alarm. The Earl of Leven, who was in command of the troops in Scotland, drew up his handful of men on the sands of Leith in no small anxiety as to their ability to resist the landing of the invaders, but soon discovered, to his great relief, that the ships in view were not those of the French but Byng's fleet, before which the French had already fled. The Jacobites, who had been looking forward to certain victory, were now greatly disconcerted, and many of them suspected that the French expedition was never intended by Louis to be anything more than a feint to alarm the British government and to induce them to withdraw some of their troops from the continent. In these suspicions they were probably right, for Louis supported the cause of the exiled Stuarts only so far as it suited his own purposes. So ended the first attempt

of the Jacobite party to restore the ancient royal family of Scotland.

In anticipation of the arrival of Forbin's expedition, a number of gentlemen in Stirlingshire assembled a body of horse and marched towards Edinburgh in order to be the first to offer themselves for the service of the chevalier, but on hearing of the failure of the expedition they returned to their homes. Shortly afterwards they were arrested and brought to trial for high treason, but the jury refused to convict them. A number of others, among them some noblemen of the highest rank, had been arrested on suspicion, but in view of the failure of this trial the government decided that it was useless to take proceedings against them and so ordered their release.

The failure to convict the Stirlingshire gentlemen of the treason of which they were so evidently guilty provided the government with an excuse for some important changes, which were carried out by an "Act for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and complete" in 1709. The treason laws of Scotland were assimilated to those of England, so that, instead of being tried before the ordinary courts of justice, cases of treason should henceforth be tried by a court of specially appointed commissioners, which should always include one of the Scottish judges. This new law gave the government the advantage of choosing the commissioners, but, on the other hand, it was made much more definite and exact than the old law, which left too much to the arbitrary pleasure of the judges. It also provided that after the death of the chevalier a man guilty of high treason should forfeit only his life interest in an estate, that is to say, his heirs should not

be disinherited. At the same time the Scottish Privy Council, with its irresponsible powers, which had so often been used as instruments of tyranny and oppression, was swept away, and circuit criminal courts were arranged to be held at regular intervals of time throughout the country. These courts did not come into full operation, however, until after the Battle of Culloden.

But although these changes were all of them undoubted improvements and of great advantage to the subject, yet the manner in which they were made only helped to increase the national irritation. The Treaty of Union contained no reference to the House of Lords as the supreme law court for Scotland, and the first appeal to it from the Court of Session in 1711 came as a national surprise. The right of appeal to the House of Lords has exercised a great and beneficial influence upon the administration of justice in Scotland, and never were its powers asserted more truly in the spirit of justice than in reversing the decision of the Court of Session on this first occasion, when the appellant was an Episcopalian minister, the Rev. James Greenshields, who had been imprisoned for using the English prayer-book in his meeting-house in Edinburgh, but the right of appeal was regarded with great disfavour in Scotland at the time by the more intolerant Presbyterians, because in this particular case the judgment of their own church courts was reversed, and by all classes because there was a fear getting abroad that the national institutions of Scotland would gradually be abolished by the united Parliament.

In 1710 the whig influence, which had been predominant at court ever since the Revolution, was overthrown and the tories came into power. As a result of

this change there arose new developments, which had the effect of arousing the alarm of the Scottish Church. The ministers of the Presbyterian Church were invariably whigs in politics and strongly opposed to the Jacobites, who formed an important section of the tory party now in power, and who soon succeeded in making their influence felt. In 1712 an Act of Toleration allowing the Scots Episcopalians to use the English prayer-book was hurriedly passed through both Houses of Parliament, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the Presbyterians, and in the same year the territorial patronage, which had been abolished at the Revolution, was once more restored. This Act was held to constitute a breach of the Treaty of Union, which provided that the Scottish Church should continue "unalterable in her worship, doctrine, and government in all succeeding generations." It proved a fruitful source of trouble in Scotch ecclesiastical politics, and has never been admitted as valid by the more extreme sects among the Presbyterians.

In this way, then, the union was regarded with an almost universal feeling of discontent throughout the whole of Scotland. The nobles felt themselves deprived of their ancient powers and privileges. The Presbyterian clergy were alarmed by the innovations that had been forced upon them. The lawyers saw the decisions of the Scottish courts reversed by the British House of Lords. The merchants, tradesmen, and farmers were affected by the increased taxation, while the money of the country, scarce enough already, was being drawn away to meet the increased expenses of the nobles and members of Parliament, who were migrating to London. Even the loss of the profitable smuggling trade which

used to be carried on with England was felt to be a grievance. The nobles and gentlemen who went up to the British Parliament in London complained of the treatment they received there from the English members. They were made use of as party tools and then cast aside when no longer useful for party purposes. Their manners and their speech were ridiculed. They were despised for their poverty, and all their efforts to secure attention to the wants and necessities of Scotland were as a rule unsuccessful.

It was only natural, however, that the disadvantages of the union should be felt before its benefits became fully apparent. But the disadvantages were only temporary and would soon pass away, whereas the benefits were permanent and would increase as time passed, so that in spite of all disappointment and discontent, the nation was not only becoming reconciled to the change, but preparing to take full advantage of the favourable conditions which the union had created and to make rapid progress, as we shall find, in power, in wealth, and in civilisation.

The revulsion of feeling against the union reached a climax in 1713, when a motion was made in the House of Lords to repeal it. The chief actor in this movement was George Lockhart of Carnwath, in Lanarkshire, and the occasion was the imposition of a tax on malt. There was no malt tax in Scotland before, but the Act of Union provided for the extension of such a tax to Scotland at the close of the war. The war had just ended with the Peace of Utrecht, and Parliament proceeded forthwith to impose the tax. The opposition offered by the Scottish members in both Houses was determined and bitter, but at the same time quite in-

defensible, as the tax had already been sanctioned by the commissioners who represented Scotland in drawing up the Treaty of Union, and in spite of the united opposition of the Scottish members of all parties the measure was passed. The motion for the repeal of the union was brought forward in the House of Lords in June 1713, when the excitement about the malt tax was at its highest, by Lord Findlater, the same man who as Lord Seafield had been Chancellor of Scotland at the time of the union. It was supported by the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Mar, both of whom had been advocates of the union, and the English whigs were prepared to vote for the undoing of their own work in the hope of embarrassing the tory government. The debate on Lord Findlater's motion was very animated, but the motion was finally rejected, though only by a very small majority, and the union was saved.

CHAPTER III

THE REBELLION OF 1715

WHATEVER the feeling among the Lowland gentlemen of Scotland may have been at this time, there could be no doubt that the great majority of the Highland chiefs were strongly Jacobite, and in order to ensure their continued allegiance to that cause a sum of money was yearly distributed among them, towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, by the tory government, who, like the queen herself, were in favour of the succession of her brother, the chevalier. The distribution of this money was entrusted to the Earl of Mar as secretary of state for Scotland. The Duke of Argyll denounced it as making the Highlands a hotbed of rebellion, but the government justified their action by pointing to the example of King William, who allowed yearly pensions to the chiefs of the clans in order to keep them quiet.

When Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, the Jacobites in Scotland as well as in England were, as usual, disunited and unready, while the whigs, acting with firmness and unanimity, seized the power which until then had belonged to their opponents, and on August 5 King George was proclaimed with great pomp and solemnity at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. The new king landed at Greenwich on September 17, and both whigs and tories seemed ready to receive him as their rightful sovereign, but his preference for the whigs,

who had always supported his title to the throne, soon became very apparent. Among those who went to offer him their allegiance on his arrival was the Earl of Mar, who proposed also to present an address of loyalty from some of the leading Highland chiefs; but he was informed that the king refused to receive the address, alleging that it had been drawn up at the court of the Pretender, and Mar was forthwith commanded to resign his office as secretary of state for Scotland. The conduct of the king in refusing to receive these advances was extremely impolitic, but the blame must rest more especially with his whig advisers, who thus became to a large extent responsible for the civil war which followed.

Thus repulsed so ignominiously in his advances to the new king, and believing that his ruin was intended, Mar resolved to make himself the leader of an armed attempt to replace the Stuart family on the throne. He lingered for some time in London, but on August 2, 1715, he set out in disguise for Scotland. Arriving at his Braemar home in Aberdeenshire on August 20, he invited a number of leading Jacobites to a great hunting party to be held on the 26th. Among the noblemen who either attended this gathering in person, or pledged themselves to give support, were the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Atholl, the Earl of Nithsdale, the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Seaforth, Viscount Kenmure, Lord Strathallan, the Chief of Glengarry, and many other chiefs and noblemen from all parts of the country. As the agent by whom their pension from government had been distributed, Mar naturally had great influence among the Highland nobles and chiefs, who formed the majority of this

great hunting party. At his instigation, therefore, a rising was readily resolved upon, and the Jacobite leaders, mustering their followers with all speed, raised the royal standard on September 6. About the same time the chevalier was proclaimed as King James VIII. of Scotland and III. of England at Aberdeen, Inverness, Dundee, and various other places.

While these events were going on in the Highlands and the rising spreading to other parts of Scotland, a bold and well-laid plot planned by Lord John Drummond, son of the titular Duke of Perth, for the capture of Edinburgh Castle on the night of September 8 was all but successful. Meantime the government was hastily adopting measures for defence by concentrating such few troops as were then in Scotland at Stirling in order to prevent Mar from crossing to the south of the Forth. Measures were also taken to reduce the influence of the Highland chiefs and to encourage loyalty among their followers by the Clan Act, which was passed on August 30, and which not only released all vassals and dependents from obligation to obey their superior lord if he should happen to engage in a rebellion or be guilty of high treason, but provided certain rewards at his expense to such vassals and dependents as should in such a case remain loyal to the crown.

On September 14 the Duke of Argyll, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, arrived at Stirling, and on the 16th the important town of Perth fell into the hands of the Jacobites. Here Mar fixed his headquarters and assembled his followers, who at the outset numbered about 5000 men. They had, however, but a limited supply of arms, but on October 2 the Master of Sinclair, one of Mar's officers, cleverly seized,



JOHN CAMPBELL, 2ND DUKE OF ARGYLL.

at Burntisland, a ship containing a large number of firelocks and other weapons which were being sent to the loyal Earl of Sutherland for the use of his followers. This capture helped to supply the deficiency of weapons among Mar's followers.

The rapidity with which the rising spread over the whole of Scotland shows how strong the Jacobite influence was at this time throughout the country. It was strong not only in Scotland but in England also, and in the hands of more competent leaders the Rebellion of 1715 might have led to a second restoration of the House of Stuart. But as a general Mar was quite incompetent, and he wasted valuable time and opportunities at Perth, while his able and active opponent, the Duke of Argyll, was making vigorous preparations to intercept him at Stirling. Mar's army was described as "an army of lions led by a deer."

Meantime the rising was spreading rapidly in the south of Scotland under Viscount Kenmure, the Earl of Nithsdale, and the Earl of Wintoun, and in the north of England under Thomas Forster, M.P. for Northumberland, and the Earl of Derwentwater. As Mar hesitated to force his own way southward against the Duke of Argyll, he despatched a body of 2500 troops across the Firth of Forth under Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, in Inverness-shire, to aid the Jacobite insurgents of the south, who had been joined by a body of cavalry from England. Mackintosh was an able soldier and had been trained to continental warfare in the service of France. He accomplished the passage of the Forth on the nights of October 12 and 13 with very little loss, in the face of some ships of war, and mustered his troops again in Haddington. From there he marched on

October 14 towards Edinburgh, which was saved by the promptitude of the Duke of Argyll, who arrived at the West Port only when Mackintosh was already within a mile of the other side of the city. But the duke was soon forced to return in order to meet a threatened attack on Stirling by Mar. Mackintosh was thus able to make good his escape, and marching to the south joined Forster and Kenmure, and occupied Kelso on October 22. Their united forces amounted to about 1400 foot and 600 horse. Here they proclaimed King James VIII. and held a council of war. Mackintosh's proposal was to move westward and seize Dumfries, Ayr, and Glasgow, and so open the way south to a considerable force of Argyllshire clansmen there assembled under General Alexander Gordon. This would compel the Duke of Argyll with his small force to abandon his position at Stirling and leave the way open for the advance of Mar to the south. Through the indecision of Forster and his friends this counsel was rejected until it was too late, and after wasting a week in fruitless disputes it was finally resolved to march west along the Border and then turn south into Lancashire, where the Jacobites were reported to be ready to rise in large numbers as soon as an opportunity was afforded them. The Highlanders were very unwilling to cross the Border on what seemed to them such an unpromising expedition, and many of them deserted. The Border was crossed, however, on October 29, under the inefficient command of Forster, who knew nothing of military matters, and they reached Preston on November 10, without encountering any serious opposition, but without receiving any of the support which they were told to expect. Here they were attacked on

November 12 by General Carpenter and General Wills, with large forces, and after some fierce fighting, which lasted through the night and in which Mackintosh and his Highlanders gave a good account of themselves, the Jacobite troops were forced next day to make an unconditional surrender. The prisoners numbered about 400 English and 1000 Scots, including eight noblemen.

Mar's excuse for remaining so long inactive at Perth was that he was waiting for the arrival of all his reinforcements. The Earl of Seaforth, who could muster over 2000 men among his own followers, was prevented for some time from taking the field by the Earl of Sutherland, who had assembled a small force at Alness in Ross-shire, which held Seaforth's followers in check until they became strong enough to force Sutherland to withdraw to his own country. Seaforth was then able to march to Perth with a following from among his own and neighbouring clans of about 4000. About the same time General Alexander Gordon arrived with the western clans from Argyllshire, where he had been detained for some time by orders from Mar to seize but not to destroy Inverary Castle, the seat of the Duke of Argyll, and to arm his followers with the weapons there. Having failed in his efforts to do so, Gordon set out towards Perth. Mar had now received all the reinforcements that he could hope for. A French expedition, which was expected to make a descent on the coast of England, had come to nothing, and the Jacobite rising which was promised in England had not taken place. Clearly there was no longer any excuse for delay, and on November 10 Mar broke up his quarters at Perth and advanced against Argyll. At Auchterarder, on the march from Perth, he was deserted by the whole

of the clan Fraser. This was by order of their chief, Lord Lovat, who had just returned from exile, and, assuming the chieftainship of his clan, concluded that his interest for the time being was to support the government of King George.

The two armies met on the morning of Sunday, November 13, on Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane. Argyll had less than 4000 men, but they were well disciplined and under able command. Mar had nearly three times as many, and under a more effective leadership they would have swept their opponents off the field. The charge of the Highlanders was, as usual, furious and formidable, and the left of Argyll's army was routed with heavy slaughter, but his right wing, which he commanded in person, though somewhat staggered by the attack of Mar's left, stood its ground, and before the Highlanders could renew their charge against it, they were attacked across a frozen marsh on their left flank by Argyll's cavalry and thrown into confusion. These Highlanders made several attempts to rally but were finally routed. In pursuing the retreating left of Mar's army, Argyll ran the risk of being taken in the rear by Mar's victorious right, but Mar failed to seize the opportunity and part of his cavalry remained inactive during the battle. "Oh for one hour of Dundee!" exclaimed an old Highland chief, Gordon of Glenbucket, Aberdeenshire, as he saw Mar's opportunities slipping away. The outlaw Rob Roy Macgregor, who had joined Mar's army as the spy of the Duke of Argyll, was present at the head of a strong party and naturally played the traitor. The victorious Highlanders of Mar's right drew up on a neighbouring eminence, and threats of defiance passed between themselves and

Argyll's men as they returned from the pursuit of Mar's left, but the battle was not renewed, and so the day ended without a decisive result.

During the night Argyll made preparations to renew the battle next morning, but Mar retired to Perth, leaving his dead and wounded on the field. About 800 were killed on Mar's side, including the young Earl of Strathmore and the young Chief of Clanranald. Argyll lost in killed and wounded about 650, among them the Earl of Forfar. Many men of high rank were among the wounded on both sides. In their charge the Highlanders displayed that same courage which made them so famous in the days of Montrose and Dundee, but after the battle many of them deserted, some to secure their booty, which on this occasion was rather meagre, others because they looked on Mar's retreat as a sign of defeat. The honours of victory were thus left to the Duke of Argyll, who in preventing Mar from passing to the south rendered the government an invaluable service.

While Mar and his dispirited followers were helplessly awaiting the issue of events at Perth, their perplexity was greatly increased by the news that, on December 22, the chevalier had landed at Peterhead. His journey southward was delayed at Feteresso, where Mar had gone to meet him, by an attack of ague, and he did not reach Perth until January 6. His arrival did little to revive the drooping spirits of those who were there to hail him as their king. They were greatly disappointed with his manner and appearance, and some of them, when they observed his feeble frame and listless attitude, could hardly refrain from giving expression to a feeling of contempt. He was, however, in many ways

a man of character and ability, and might conceivably have proved a successful monarch, but his good qualities were not of the kind that appeal to soldiers; the circumstances under which he met his supporters could hardly be more unfavourable, and it is therefore not altogether surprising that his appearance among them failed to inspire their confidence.

The chevalier took up his quarters at Scone Palace, where he assumed the state and character of king and issued several proclamations. He fixed January 23 as the date for his coronation, and Jacobite ladies began to contribute their jewels as materials for a crown. When it became evident that Argyll was about to advance on Perth it was resolved, much against the wish of the chevalier, that Auchterarder, Crieff, and other villages on the way between Stirling and Perth should be burned and destroyed, lest they should afford quarters to Argyll's troops in their advance. The order was ruthlessly carried out, and the unoffending inhabitants turned out of their homes and deprived of their stores in the depth of an exceptionally severe winter. This violent measure created alarm among all parties and was condemned even by the chevalier's own followers.

While Mar's force was daily diminishing, Argyll's was steadily increasing. Considerable reinforcements of Dutch and English troops had been received, and on January 29 Argyll broke up his quarters at Stirling and advanced towards Perth. Such Highlanders as were still remaining with Mar were eager to wait for the duke's arrival and to fight, but neither Mar himself nor the unhappy chevalier shared the courage of their followers, and on January 30, the anniversary of the

execution of King Charles I., the Jacobite army began to retreat from Perth by marching across the frozen Tay. Next day the Duke of Argyll's dragoons marched into the town and took possession of it. The Highlanders directed their march towards Aberdeen, but at Montrose, on February 4, the chevalier and Mar escaped secretly to the seashore, where a boat was waiting to convey them to a French vessel which was there to receive them, and a few days afterwards they landed safely at Gravelines in France on February 10. Before embarking the chevalier left a sum of money and wrote to Argyll imploring him, as a lover of his country, to use it for repairing the loss of the inhabitants of the burned villages. The letter, however, was not sent.

The remnant of Mar's army was led by General Gordon to Aberdeen, where they arrived on February 6 and were immediately disbanded. The main body of the fugitives proceeded to Ruthven, in Badenoch, and there broke up. Some of the leading men made their escape to France, others to the Orkney Islands, whence they sailed to Sweden and entered the service of Charles XII. The clans dispersed to their homes the best way they could. A few stragglers were taken prisoners by the Duke of Argyll, who arrived at Aberdeen two days after General Gordon, but there was no man of note among them.

It was now the turn of the government to deal with the unfortunate prisoners who had fallen into their hands. There were not many prisoners taken in Scotland, but of those taken at Preston the majority were Scotsmen, as already stated. Of these, six men of high rank, who held commissions in the king's army, were sentenced to be shot by martial law. The Earl of

Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were executed. The Earl of Nithsdale was sentenced to death, but succeeded in escaping from prison by the devotion of his wife the day before his execution was to take place. Lord Wintoun was sentenced to death and he also made his escape from prison. So also did Thomas Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh. The stern and martial appearance of the doughty brigadier made a deep impression even on the thoughtless crowd as he was led along the streets of London to prison. His heroism was celebrated in popular ballads and the news of his escape from prison was hailed with delight by the people of London. Some nobles suffered a period of imprisonment, until they were set free by the passing of an Act of Indemnity. Of the inferior prisoners, most of whom were Highlanders, about twenty-five were executed, some in Manchester and Preston and some in London, and about a thousand were transported as slaves to the American plantations. Of the prisoners taken in Scotland, eighty-nine were removed to Carlisle to be tried there, probably because it was feared there might be some difficulty in obtaining conviction against them in Scotland. This gave rise in Scotland to a strong feeling against the government, even among the whigs, but the prisoners were leniently dealt with, many were set at liberty, and though several were condemned, not one was brought to execution, though some appear to have been transported to the American plantations.

The Earl of Mar managed the chevalier's state affairs abroad until 1721, when he lost his master's confidence. Mar began life as a whig, but his political career was so inconsistent that he became known by the nickname of "Bobbing John." He was a man of cultured manner

and refined tastes, and could move as easily among the polished circles of Queen Anne's court as among his Highland clansmen. Of military affairs he was quite ignorant, and in rashly undertaking the rising of 1715, because his advances to the new king were rejected, and without even consulting some of the most important members of the Jacobite party, he ruined their cause at the very moment when its chances of success were greatest. He died in exile at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1732.

When the Duke of Argyll, who had done the government such important service, returned to London he was received with great distinction by the king, but so boldly did he plead for a mitigation of the punishment of the Jacobite prisoners that he soon lost favour at court and was deprived for a time of all his high offices.

It was not long before the country was once more startled by the intelligence that Charles XII. of Sweden was forming a confederacy to dethrone George I., who had excited his indignation, and to replace the House of Stuart on the throne. This confederacy was joined by Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Minister of Spain, with which country Great Britain was then at war, but its plans were upset by the death of Charles XII. in 1718. The project was then taken up by Alberoni himself, and in March 1719 he fitted out a powerful expedition under command of the Duke of Ormonde to make a descent on the English coast and to support the Jacobite cause in the Highlands of Scotland. Scarcely had the expedition set sail when it was overtaken by a terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay and so completely ruined that only two vessels were able to reach Scotland. These vessels had on board the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl Marischal, the Marquis of Tullibardine, and about

three hundred Spaniards with arms for two thousand men. Having called at Seaforth's Island of Lewis and raised some men, they eventually landed in Kintail, on the shores of Lochalsh, in the south-west of Ross-shire, on April 5. Here they lay quiet for some time in hopes that Ormonde might still be able to come to their aid, and in the meantime were joined by a number of Highlanders, including the traitor Rob Roy Macgregor and a party of his followers. Their plan was to march across the country to Inverness and there to form a centre for the reassembling of the Jacobite clans, but their continued inactivity gave the government ample time to take effective measures against them. Early in May three ships of war sailed up Lochalsh and destroyed Ellandonan Castle, the stronghold of the Earls of Seaforth, and shortly afterwards a small force of about 1200 men marched against them from Inverness under the command of General Wightman. The Jacobite force consisted of about 1100 men, including about 200 Spaniards, and was under the command of the Earl of Seaforth. The two forces met at Glenshiel on June 10, where a battle was fought, which ended in the dispersal of the Highlanders and the surrender of the Spaniards as prisoners of war, although the advantage of the fight lay with Seaforth. The king's troops lost twenty-one killed and one hundred and twenty-one wounded. The loss of the Highlanders is not known, but it was not heavy. Seaforth himself was badly wounded, but he succeeded, as did also Tullibardine, Marischal, and the other chief officers, in escaping to the continent.

CHAPTER IV

1715-1745

AT the time of the Rebellion of 1715 there was a great difference in many ways between the Highlands and the Lowlands of Scotland. As a result of the commercial facilities which were brought by the union the Lowlands were rapidly advancing in wealth and prosperity, and though Jacobite feelings prevailed to some extent among many of the old landed aristocracy and those who were more or less dependent on them, yet the Presbyterian Church and the commercial classes were firm supporters of the Hanoverian government as being the best safeguard of that peace and security under which their country was beginning to reap so many benefits. But in the Highlands the state of feeling was of quite a different nature. There Episcopalianism was still the popular creed and Gaelic the spoken language, while in the trade and growing prosperity of the south the people had neither share nor interest. Separated thus from the Lowlands and trained in the use of arms they became a source of danger and constant anxiety to their southern neighbours. Their chiefs were accustomed to have considerable intercourse with France, where they acquired learning and culture, as well as an experience in continental warfare, which might at any moment be turned to account against the authority established at home and to which many of

them acknowledged but scant allegiance. It was only natural, then, that after the Rising of 1715 government should seriously endeavour to deal with the various causes which rendered the Highlands a source of danger to the public peace.

In 1716 commissioners were appointed by Parliament to deal with the estates forfeited by those who had taken part in the Rebellion, and to raise money out of them for public use. It was, of course, with the Highlands that the commission had chiefly to deal, and its task proved to be far from easy. On some estates, notably those of the Earl of Seaforth, the rent-collectors sent by the commission were met by armed resistance, while the rents were voluntarily transmitted abroad to the exiled family. The feeling of all parties in Scotland was against the forfeiture of their countrymen's estates, so that it was very difficult to find purchasers for any estates put up for sale, and when the commissioners concluded their labours in 1725, the balance of profit that had gone into the public purse was only £1107.

It was in 1724 that Field-Marshal Wade, a distinguished and experienced officer, was commissioned to report on the condition of the Highlands and the remedies best suited to promote the peace and welfare of that part of the country. Wade did much to carry out the object for which he was sent. All his proceedings were marked by a humanity and a good sense which made him a popular man and which entitles him to rank as a true benefactor to the people of the Highlands. His greatest and most important work was the opening up of the country by means of roads. Between 1726 and 1737 he constructed 260 miles of excellent roadway, which opened up communications by the Great

Highland Road from Stirling by Dunkeld and Blair Atholl to Inverness, and from Inverness through the valleys now traversed by the Caledonian Canal to Fort William. A connection was made between the Great Highland and the Fort William Roads over the Pass of Corryarrack near Fort Augustus. Another road was made from Stirling through Glenalmond along Loch Tay to Crieff, and joining the Great Highland Road at Dalnacardoch. An armed vessel was stationed on Loch Ness and barracks were erected in various places for the accommodation of regular soldiers.

An Act had been passed for disarming the clans, but it was easily evaded. Old and useless weapons were surrendered, and compensation paid for them by the government, while new and better ones were being smuggled into the country and kept in concealment ready for use when occasion should arise. But that was not all. Worthless weapons were imported from Holland to be surrendered as a claim to the government compensation. When Wade arrived in the Highlands he took more energetic measures to complete the disarming of the clans, but even he was deceived, as subsequent events proved. In 1725 six independent companies of eighty men each were established in order to secure the peace of the Highlands and to protect the people from the armed freebooters that still roamed about the country. These companies consisted mainly of Highland gentlemen, who were dressed and armed according to their own custom, and because of their dark appearance as compared with the scarlet uniforms of the regular troops they became known as "The Black Watch." In May 1740 these companies were

enrolled at Aberfeldy into the famous regiment that still bears their name.

Whether it was intended to send this regiment on foreign service or not, it is quite certain that no such intention was made known to the men who joined it, and they disliked foreign service, partly because they considered their dress unsuitable, but more especially because they objected to be placed on a level of equality with the social refuse from which so many of the common soldiers were recruited. For the first three years their services were confined to Scotland, but in 1743 they were ordered to England, and though their suspicions were aroused, yet they consented to go because they were informed the reason for sending them was that the king desired to review them. They were reviewed on Finchley Common, but the king was not present, and so greatly annoyed were they by this breach of faith and by the unpleasant attentions of the London mob, who ridiculed their unusual dress and appearance, that they resolved on a secret escape back to Scotland. Accordingly they set out under cover of the darkness of night, without officers or guides, and got as far as Oundle in Northamptonshire before they were overtaken. Here they were persuaded to surrender. Three of them were executed and several were transported to the West Indies. The rest were sent to Flanders, where they began the distinguished career that has made the "Black Watch" one of the proudest and most honoured names in the annals of British arms. Such was the origin of the first of the Highland regiments.

While General Wade was entering on his great work in the Highlands a serious fiscal dispute broke out in the Lowlands. Scotland was still a poor country, and

her revenue was barely sufficient to maintain her own civil and military administration, much less to contribute to any imperial requirements. The malt tax imposed in 1713 was never properly paid or even seriously enforced and amounted to less than the expense of collecting it. Another generation had to pass before the increasing prosperity of Scotland began to make her partnership a source of imperial profit for the United Kingdom. Meanwhile Walpole proposed to raise a sum of £20,000 in Scotland by imposing a tax on ale instead of malt and by withdrawing from Scotland, while still continuing it in England, a bounty which was paid at that time on the export of grain. Against this the nation raised a vehement protest. The Jacobites maintained it was a breach of the Treaty of Union, and that the object of the tax was to provide funds for a weekly payment of £10 each, which was then made during the session of Parliament to the Scottish members, whom they described as a parcel of corrupt locusts on whose account the country must be oppressed. Much to the disappointment of the Jacobites the proposal was dropped, and an Act was passed in 1724 to enforce payment of the malt tax, which had already been imposed in accordance with the terms of the union. To this alternative the Scottish members agreed; in fact, it is not easy to see on what grounds they could honestly oppose it, but that did not make it any the more popular in Scotland. It increased the price of ale, which was then a staple article of domestic consumption, and those who disliked the union pointed to it as another instance of English oppression.

The opposition to this measure showed itself more

especially in the large towns. In Edinburgh the brewers resolved to cease brewing, but the Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes, persuaded the Court of Session to pronounce their action illegal and threatened to proceed against them for conspiracy. The laws against combination, which were to be so often put into force against workmen, were on this occasion invoked against the masters, who, after making a slight show of resistance, soon resumed their work.

It was in Glasgow, however, which had been so eminently loyal to the union and to the Hanoverian succession, that the feeling of discontent broke out in its most violent form, and when the Act came into force on June 23, 1725, the attitude of the mob towards their member of Parliament, Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, whom they accused not only of supporting the obnoxious Act but of having exposed a plan for evading the duties on their tobacco trade, which was then a rising industry in Glasgow, became so threatening that he appealed for military protection to General Wade, who was then in Edinburgh on his way to the Highlands. But before Wade's men could arrive, the mob attacked Campbell's house and laid it in ruins. Next day the soldiers, who had meantime arrived in Glasgow, were so persistently annoyed and attacked with stones by the mob that the officer in command, Captain Bushell, was compelled to give them the order to fire, with the result, it was said, that eight of the crowd were killed and several wounded. The mob then broke into the town armoury, and having provided themselves with weapons, became so furious that it was feared the soldiers might be massacred. At the entreaty of the provost, who had acted all along either feebly or

treacherously, Captain Bushell began a retreat to Dumbarton, followed for a considerable part of the way by an insulting and threatening mob. Shortly afterwards the Lord Advocate arrived, accompanied by a force under General Wade himself, and quietness was soon restored. Proceedings were instituted against the magistrates for neglecting their duty, but the charges against them were abandoned. A few of the rioters, however, were punished. Captain Bushell was brought to trial for ordering his soldiers to fire without the authority of a magistrate and a verdict found against him, but he received a royal pardon. The malt tax was not only continued, but was increased from time to time. In raising the price of ale the malt tax had the effect of increasing the consumption of whisky, which before this was little used.

These disturbances were but the beginning of a series of excise difficulties which continued for quite a century, and were not confined to Scotland, for they were felt, though not to quite so large an extent, in England also. At this time and for many years to come smuggling was the great public vice of Scotland and prevailed to such a large extent as almost to affect the national character. The smuggler had the support of peasant and laird alike, and frequently carried on his dishonest trade with the connivance of the justices of the peace, who had been appointed for the express purpose of enforcing the revenue laws of the country. The merchants of the trading towns, whose legitimate business suffered so much by it, protested against the injustice done to them, and the General Assembly repeatedly passed Acts condemning it, but the practice went on to the utter demoralisation of all those who were engaged in it.

In the year 1736 the smuggling trade led to a tragedy which has not only become the subject of a great Scottish romance, but may even be regarded as one of the landmarks of Scottish history in the eighteenth century. A notorious Fifeshire smuggler named Wilson, who had sustained heavy losses through frequent seizures of his contraband goods, retaliated by breaking into the Custom House at Pittenweem and stealing some government money which was lying there at the time. Among his accomplices in this robbery was a youth of the name Robertson. Both Wilson and Robertson were caught, tried, and condemned to death. While awaiting their execution in the Tolbooth, a prison of Edinburgh, commonly known as the "Heart of Midlothian," they succeeded one night in cutting through the bars of their window with instruments of which they had surreptitiously obtained possession. Wilson then proceeded to make his escape, leaving Robertson to follow him, but being a bulky man he stuck in the opening and was discovered before he could extricate himself. Having thus prevented Robertson's escape as well as his own, he formed a daring resolve to make amends to his companion. On the Sunday before the day fixed for their execution, they were taken, according to the custom of the time, unfettered, but in the custody of four soldiers of the city guard, to attend public worship in the Tolbooth Church. As soon as the soldiers were seated Wilson suddenly sprang upon them, laying hold of one with each hand and seizing the collar of the third with his teeth, while his companion Robertson, having only the fourth to deal with, easily escaped to the door and disappeared.

Wilson was left behind for execution, but the common

people were so impressed by the boldness and the generosity which he had shown on behalf of his fellow-prisoner that it was feared an attempt might be made to rescue him by force. In order, therefore, to avoid all risks of a disturbance on the day of the execution, the magistrates obtained, in addition to the city guard, the help of a strong detachment of soldiers from the castle, and the sentence was duly carried out. The commander of the guard was Captain John Porteous, an active and energetic officer, but very unpopular with the rabble. After the execution the crowd became so violent that the guard had to fire upon them, and several were killed and wounded. Whether or not Porteous gave the order to fire has never been made clear, but, in any case, he was brought to trial and condemned to death on the charge of having fired on the crowd without the authority of the civil magistrate. The case for Porteous was taken up, however, by men of influence, and a reprieve was obtained from Queen Caroline, who was then acting as regent during the temporary absence of George II. in Hanover, but the people of Edinburgh were resolved that Porteous should not escape their vengeance.

On the night of September 7, while Porteous was celebrating the arrival of the reprieve along with some friends who had visited him in the prison, the Edinburgh mob suddenly rose as if by some prearranged plan, overpowered the city guard, seized the arms in the guard house, and proceeded to the Tolbooth. The magistrates, who happened on that night to be assembled in conviviality, made a feeble attempt to disperse the crowd, but were soon glad to retreat. The officers in command of the soldiers who were stationed

in the castle and in the Canongate refused to act on their own responsibility, and no one could be found to convey to them the written authority of the magistrates. Meantime, by burning the door of the prison, the mob effected an entrance and set all the prisoners free, except Porteous, whom they found hiding in the chimney of his cell. He was then dragged to the Grass-market and there hanged, under circumstances of great barbarity, from a dyer's pole. As soon as he was dead the crowd dispersed as quietly and quickly as they had gathered together and every effort to discover the leaders of the outrage proved in vain.

At court the news of these proceedings was received with the very greatest indignation. The queen, who had granted the reprieve, felt the death of Porteous as a personal insult, and the government offered a reward of £200 for the discovery of any person concerned in the riot. But there were further developments, and in the end there arose, in connection with the affair, a serious dispute in Parliament, where a Bill was introduced to punish the city of Edinburgh. By this Bill the provost and bailies, whose neglect of duty was held to be one of the causes of the riot, were to be disqualified for any public office, the town guard was to be abolished, and the Netherbow Port was to be pulled down. The queen angrily urged the whig government to proceed with the Bill. The Duke of Argyll stoutly opposed it. The Scottish members of all political parties condemned it, and they were supported by the tories, who gladly welcomed the opportunity of coming forward, as supporters of the rights and freedom of municipal corporations, against the whigs. After a controversy that lasted for five months the Bill was passed in the end,

but in a comparatively harmless form. The provost was declared incapable of holding any public office and the city was fined £2000 for the benefit of Captain Porteous' widow.

As far as the city of Edinburgh was concerned the affair was now ended, but it led to further controversy elsewhere. An order was issued by the government imposing upon the ministers of the Established Church, under penalty of deprivation, the duty of reading from the pulpit on the first Sunday of every month for a year a proclamation for the discovery of the murderers of Captain Porteous. Many of the clergy resented this imposition as an Erastian¹ heresy and an unwarrantable interference with the spiritual independence of the Church. Thus there arose a keen controversy between the ministers who read the proclamation and those who refused to do so, but the number of the latter was so large as to make punishment impossible, and the matter had to be dropped. Altogether, then, the political developments arising out of the Porteous Riots were not of such a nature as to increase the respect of Scotland for the Imperial Parliament.

It has already been mentioned that the Duke of Argyll was disgraced in 1716, but the favour of the court soon returned to him, and in 1719 he was again restored to office and received a British dukedom. Two years afterwards the great whig statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, who had already acquired fame as a

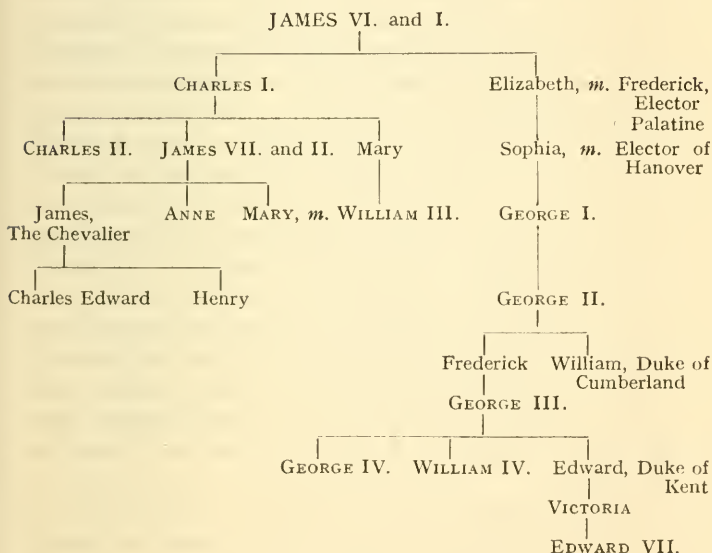
¹ *Erastianism*—so called from Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), a Swiss theologian—is the principle that the Church ought to be entirely under the control of the state. The opposite principle, which is known as *Voluntaryism* or spiritual independence, holds that the Church ought to be entirely free from all state control and maintained by voluntary offerings.

financier, became Prime Minister, and continued in power until 1742. His policy was to uphold the Hanoverian succession and to keep at peace with continental nations as the surest means of defeating the plans of the Jacobites and making the position of the House of Hanover secure on the British throne. He was a strong leader and a man of practical good sense and sound policy, but his power was based upon corruption and bribery. His chief supporters in Scotland were the Duke of Argyll, his brother Lord Islay, and latterly Duncan Forbes of Culloden. For many years these three men practically managed the affairs of Scotland, though in the end Argyll himself withdrew his support to some extent because of the annoyance he felt at the insignificant position assigned to Scottish affairs in Walpole's administration. Walpole resigned in 1742 and was created Earl of Orford on his retirement.

Walpole's ministry was succeeded almost immediately by the "Broad bottom" ministry under Henry Pelham, who continued in power until his death in 1754, when he was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. The ministry was so called because the opponents of Walpole professed to desire a ministry broad enough to satisfy all political parties, but it remained, however, a ministry of whigs. The Duke of Argyll refused to take office in it, and opposed all its measures until his death on September 3, 1743. The memory of his great services both in the senate and in the field, together with his influence in Scotland, made the great whig Highland chief a power to the last. In his opposition to the new ministry he showed increasing sympathy with the Jacobites, but whether he would have joined in the rebellion which followed so soon

after his death may well be doubted. With the influence and the great military talent of such a man, the issue of that rebellion might have been different. It was during the weak and vacillating administration of Henry Pelham that the great rebellion of 1745 occurred.

THE HOUSES OF STUART AND HANOVER



CHAPTER V

THE REBELLION OF 1745.

A DISPUTE about the succession to the throne of Austria led to the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). In this war nearly all Europe was involved and England and France were on opposite sides. The outbreak of war was the opportunity of the Jacobites, as Walpole had always maintained, and in 1740, the same year in which the war began, seven leading Scottish Jacobites, who possessed great influence in the Highlands, pledged themselves to rise in arms as soon as adequate help for a rising was supplied from abroad. These were: Lord Lovat, Lord Traquair and his brother, John Stewart, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Donald Cameron of Locheil. In June 1743 the British troops and their Hanoverian allies, commanded by George II. in person, won the battle of Dettingen in Bavaria against the French, who felt so annoyed at their defeat that they began to turn their attention to the exiled Stuarts as a means of avenging themselves on King George, and Prince Charles Edward, son of the old chevalier, was invited to Paris from Rome, where he was living at the time.

Prince Charles was born at Rome on December 31, 1720. He was in many ways a young man well suited for the adventurous enterprise he was about to undertake. He was tall, handsome, vigorous, and athletic,

and had trained himself to endure fatigue and toil. His manner was courteous and pleasant, and he was active and brave, frank and generous. He spoke English like an Irishman, but he was very badly educated, and had been brought up in the arbitrary principles of government which had proved the ruin of his family. He was, of course, a Roman Catholic.

Early in 1744 the French fitted out an expedition of 15,000 trained and war-trying soldiers to cross to the English coast, where Marshal Saxe, perhaps the greatest soldier of the age, was to take command of them. In February a French fleet sailed up the Channel to clear the way for the transports carrying the soldiers, but found as they approached the English coast a British fleet waiting to engage them. At the same time there arose, on March 6 and 7, a heavy storm, which dispersed the French fleet and drove it back considerably damaged to the French coast. The plan of invasion was forthwith abandoned and Marshal Saxe was sent to command the French troops in Flanders, where, at the Battle of Fontenoy in May 1745, he inflicted a defeat on the British army and its allies under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. The defeat of the British troops at Fontenoy inspired Prince Charles with new hope, and he resolved to set out for Scotland on his own responsibility and even against the advice of the leading Scottish Jacobites, who felt that it was useless to attempt a rising without help from abroad.

On July 2, 1745, Prince Charles set sail from Nantes, on the Loire, in a small ship called the *Doutelle*, and after a very adventurous voyage arrived at the small island called Eriskay, near South Uist, on July 23. Here the prince received a discouraging account of his

prospects. He determined, however, to proceed to the mainland, and on July 25 landed at Moidart in the south-west of Inverness-shire. He was accompanied by seven followers, afterwards known as the seven men of Moidart. They were the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald, a Scottish officer who had served in Spain, Colonel Francis Strickland, an English gentleman, Rev. George Kelly, who had been implicated in an English Jacobite plot, Æneas Macdonald, brother of the Chief of Moidart and now a Paris banker, and a man of the name of Buchanan, who had accompanied the prince from Rome to Paris. One of the attendants who immediately afterwards joined the prince was a young man named Neil Macdonald (Neil MacEachain), a native of South Uist, who had studied in France for the Roman Catholic priesthood and proved a useful interpreter, as he could talk English, Gaelic, French, and Latin. He was the father of the great French soldier, Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Taranto. Among the first to wait upon the Prince was Donald Cameron of Lochail, who tried to persuade him to return to France and wait for a more favourable opportunity. In the end, however, Lochail, who was overcome by the persuasiveness of the prince, promised to join. Lochail was a man of high character and great influence, and it was generally believed that if he had not promised his support the other chiefs would not have joined under such unpromising circumstances. Lochail's example was quickly followed and several other chiefs soon declared for the prince.

The civil war actually began before the prince raised his standard. On August 16 a party of soldiers sent by the governor of Fort Augustus to reinforce the garrison

at Fort William were attacked at Spean Bridge by some Macdonalds and Camerons and compelled to surrender. Five or six of them were killed. Their leader, Captain Scott, was wounded, and as the governor of Fort Augustus refused to trust a surgeon among the Highlanders to dress his wounds, Lochail, with his usual generosity, allowed him to return to the fort on parole in order to get his wounds dressed. The prisoners were taken to Lochail's house, where they were treated with kindness and the wounded received attention.

The standard of the prince was unfurled at Glenfinnan, near Fort William, on August 19, by the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been forced to live in exile for his share in the Rebellion of 1715, and was now old and infirm. A manifesto from the prince's father was then read and the prince himself made a stirring speech:—"He had come for the happiness of his people, chose Scotland as his starting-point because he knew he should find brave gentlemen zealous for their own honour and the rights of their sovereign, and as willing to live and die with him as he was willing at their head to shed the last drop of his blood." At Glenfinnan he was joined by 1600 Highlanders, and in a few days was able to commence his advance to the south with more than 2000 men.

The prince landed at Moidart some days before the government became aware that he had left France, and even after receiving intelligence of his arrival their action was slow and undecided, but with feeble malignity they brought to trial the officers of a man-of-war—the *Lion*—for failing in a hopeless attempt to intercept the *Doutelle*, and one of the officers was shot. Almost all the available British troops were engaged in

the war on the continent, and the few stationed in Scotland were under the command of Sir John Cope. In all he had less than 3000 men, and with these he set out from Edinburgh on the day that the standard of the prince was raised in Glenfinnan. On the following day he continued his march from Stirling accompanied by 1500 infantry, leaving his cavalry behind him, as they would be useless among the hills.

As the prince marched southwards the number of his followers increased, and on August 27 Cope and he were almost face to face in the steep and rugged Pass of Corryarrack, which was traversed by one of Wade's roads, in the neighbourhood of Fort Augustus. The position occupied by the Highlanders was so strong that Cope was afraid to attack them, and he therefore resolved to march to Inverness in order to secure the support of the loyal clans in the prince's rear. The way to the south now lay open to the Highlanders, and on September 4 they reached Perth, where they were joined by the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine and a soldier of talent and experience. As the prince advanced towards Stirling, the cavalry left there by Cope retreated at his approach, so that the Highlanders were able to cross the Forth eight miles further up, at the Ford of Frew, without any opposition, on September 13.

On the 15th the Edinburgh volunteers were called together by the ringing of the fire bell in order to join the dragoons from Stirling in the defence of the city. They mustered in large numbers, but on receiving orders to march towards the West Port on the way to Corstorphine, they quickly melted away. Next day the dragoons were drawn up at Colt Bridge on the west

side of Edinburgh to await the approach of the Highlanders, but no sooner did the Highland van come in sight than the dragoons broke into wild flight and galloping past the north side of the city, where the New Town now stands, halted for a few moments at Leith, and then resumed their flight in the darkness of night as far as Dunbar and other towns on the east coast. This flight, which was called "The Canter of Colt Brigg," left Edinburgh at the mercy of the prince and his Highlanders.

The magistrates now sent a deputation to the prince, begging him to suspend hostilities until they could decide what to do. Hardly had the deputation left the city when news was received that Cope, who had hurried back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked his troops, had now arrived and was about to land at Dunbar in order to march to the defence of Edinburgh. A messenger was immediately sent out to recall the deputation, but he was unable to overtake them. The deputation met the prince at Gray's Mill, about two miles from the city, and returned about ten o'clock at night with a peremptory demand from the prince for the surrender of the city by two o'clock in the morning. A second deputation was sent out in a coach, but the prince refused to see them.

Meantime the prince had sent Cameron of Locheil, with 800 of his clansmen, to be ready to blow up one of the gates if the city did not surrender by the appointed hour. While Locheil and his men were lying in ambush outside the Netherbow Port, the gate was opened to allow the coachman who had been employed by the second deputation to pass out to his stable in the Canon-gate, and before it could be closed again Locheil's men

rushed from their ambush and took possession of it. When the inhabitants awoke in the morning of September 17 they found their city in possession of the Highlanders. In spite of the many temptations which the capture of the city placed in their way the Highlanders behaved with the utmost propriety. Their discipline was admirable and there was neither plundering nor drunkenness. About noon on the same day the prince took possession of Holyrood Palace, accompanied by many Scotsmen of importance and rank, and loudly applauded by a large concourse of people. He was dressed in red velvet breeches and boots, a scarlet tartan jacket and perhaps a plaid, and a green velvet bonnet with a white cockade. His father was then proclaimed at the city cross, amidst wild enthusiasm, as King James VIII., and at night the prince gave a splendid ball at Holyrood Palace.

But it was not a time for festivities, as Cope's army had landed at Dunbar and was preparing to march on Edinburgh. On the morning of September 19 the prince marched out to Duddingston, at the foot of Arthur's Seat, where most of his troops were encamped. Next day he advanced at the head of nearly 3000 men and did not stop until he reached Prestonpans and came in sight of Cope, who thereupon formed his army in battle array with a marsh between himself and the Highlanders. Cope had been joined by the dragoons already referred to, so that he had in all about the same number of men as the prince had. Both armies passed the night, which was very cold, lying on the ground. But during the night a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who had joined the prince and knew of a way through the marsh, led the Highlanders across in profound

silence and under cover of a mist. As soon as the mist was dispelled by the morning sun, the Highlanders, having said a short prayer, charged their opponents with such impetuous fury that in a few minutes the whole of Cope's troops were in flight. He tried to rally them, but in vain, and was soon obliged to join in their flight. About 400 of his men were slain, among them being Colonel Gardiner, a brave soldier and a saintly man whose home stood close to the field of battle. Over 2000 of Cope's men were made prisoners. The losses of the prince's army were from thirty to forty killed and over seventy wounded. A large quantity of booty, including Cope's military chest with £2000, fell into the hands of the victors. Such was the battle of Prestonpans, which was fought on September 21, 1745.

Charles was anxious to follow up his victory by marching at once to England, where he hoped to be joined by many followers, and by rapid marches to occupy London before it could be put in a state of defence. But many of his soldiers had gone home with their booty, and his chief officers were opposed to a march into England until the arrival of the reinforcements which had been promised from France. Others were opposed to a march into England at all, and urged that the prince should remain in Scotland and reign there like his ancestors. Meantime the government was gradually getting troops together, and the French reinforcements, which the prince so eagerly expected, did not arrive. But, on the other hand, the victory at Prestonpans brought him many recruits from the Highlands and elsewhere, and he was soon at the head of an army of 6000 men. During the time that he passed in Edinburgh he was busy consolidating his power, visiting

his camp at Duddingston, drilling and organising his troops, levying money and supplies, and winning favourable opinions on all hands by his magnanimity and moderation.

At length Charles overcame the reluctance of his officers and on October 31 he marched out of Edinburgh at the head of his guards to Dalkeith, where he was joined by the rest of his troops from Duddingston and other quarters. At Dalkeith the army was divided into two parts. One part, commanded by the Duke of Perth, proceeded along the western road to Carlisle. The other division, commanded by the prince in person, marched to Kelso, where they crossed the Tweed, then marched towards the west. Both divisions joined together on November 9 near Carlisle, forming an army of about 5000 men. The march along the east road to Kelso was a feint to keep Marshal Wade, who was at the head of an army in Northumberland, from going to the relief of Carlisle, which was the real objective of the prince's army. The garrison at Carlisle made some show of resistance, but soon surrendered, and the prince entered the city in triumph on November 17. Many of the Highlanders were unwilling to march into England, and it was said that about a thousand of them deserted between Edinburgh and Carlisle. At Carlisle a dispute arose about the chief command, which in the end was given to Lord George Murray, undoubtedly the most competent officer in the prince's army.

In England there were three armies waiting to oppose the advance of the prince. Marshal Wade, as already stated, was in command of an army in Northumberland. The Duke of Cumberland, who had been recalled from his command on the continent, was at the head of

another army at Lichfield, while a third army was gathering on Finchley Common, near London, which George II. himself was to command in person. From Carlisle the prince marched on to Preston, which the Highlanders approached with a superstitious fear, as the scene of two former defeats of the Stuart cause in 1648 and in 1715. At Preston the prince received the first tokens of sympathy in England, and was joined by a few recruits. As the march through Lancashire continued there were increasing signs of goodwill, until at Manchester a small regiment was raised for the prince's service. From Manchester he marched to Derby, which was reached on December 4. About this time the prince's army is described as marching well, with their pipes playing. The private soldiers, though shabby in appearance, were lusty and active. Their conduct was good and often devout, and at Derby many of the officers and men, most of whom were probably Episcopalians, took the sacrament.

The prince's army was now within 127 miles of London, but the Duke of Cumberland, with more than 10,000 troops, was within a day's march, and Marshal Wade was moving south with another army quite as large as the prince's. Among the commercial classes in London the approach of the Highlanders created quite a panic, and the day on which the news of their arrival at Derby reached London was long remembered there as Black Friday, but the common people generally seemed to regard the struggle for the crown with indifference. The Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, is said to have shut himself up for a whole day to consider whether or not he should declare for the prince, and King George himself felt so doubtful about the

issue of events that he is said to have ordered a ship to be in readiness to take him away at a moment's notice. Had the prince continued the march to London as he wished to do, it would have been impossible either for Cumberland or Wade to overtake him, and in all probability he would win a victory over the army on Finchley Common and take possession of London, but whether he would be able to retain possession in the face of the forces that would soon muster against him is quite another thing. Charles and the men were eager to continue the march to London, but his principal officers, disappointed that so few had joined them in England, and appreciating the dangers of the situation, insisted upon retreat. The retreat began accordingly in the early morning of December 6, and all chances of ultimate success were now ended. The men marched out from Derby in high spirits, thinking that they were going to fight the Duke of Cumberland, but soon discovered their mistake. Their disappointment was very keen, and the excellent discipline which had so far been maintained began to suffer. The prince, too, was deeply disappointed, and instead of marching gaily on foot in the van talking to the men and cheering them as he used to do, he now loitered listlessly in the rear and became gloomy and dejected.

The retreat was rapidly continued without any noteworthy incident until December 18, when they were attacked in the rear by the Duke of Cumberland, whose dragoons had overtaken them at the village of Clifton near Penrith. The attack was repulsed so sharply and so effectively by Lord George Murray, who commanded the rear of the Highlanders, that the duke retreated with the loss of a considerable number of men, and did

not venture to put himself within reach of the Highland rear again. This was the last battle fought on English soil. Next day the prince arrived at Carlisle, where he left the Manchester regiment as a garrison, and where it fell a few days afterwards into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland. On December 20 the prince and his army crossed the river Esk into Scotland and marched to Glasgow, where they arrived on the 26th.

During the prince's absence in England things had materially changed in Scotland. The supporters of King George had recovered from the panic and confusion into which they were at first thrown. Edinburgh was once more in the hands of the constitutional authorities and garrisoned by a part of Marshal Wade's army, which had been sent there for that purpose. Stirling and Inverness were also held by King George's troops. The command at Inverness was held by Lord Loudoun, who sent a small body of loyal Highlanders to Aberdeenshire to prevent a Jacobite rising in that county, but they were met at Inverurie on December 23 and there defeated by Lord Lewis Gordon, who then led his own men to Perth, where reinforcements for the service of the prince were being collected. But the rising had made very little progress in the Highlands during the absence of the prince. This was mainly owing to the influence and watchfulness of Duncan Forbes of Cul-loden, Lord President of the Court of Session, an able and sagacious statesman, who did more than any other man to uphold the cause of King George in Scotland. Altogether, then, the prince's prospects even in Scotland were no longer very promising.

At Glasgow the prince and his army rested for a week, and as the city was whig and Hanoverian, contributions

of money, food, and clothing were freely levied upon the inhabitants. On January 3, 1746, with his army refreshed and newly clad and shod, he marched out to Stirling and took up his quarters at Bannockburn, where he was soon joined by Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond with reinforcements from Perth and some battering guns and engines from France. These reinforcements amounted to about 4000 men, including some Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, the Farquharsons, and also the Frasers, sent by their chief, Lord Lovat, under his son, while he himself remained at home professing his loyalty to King George. The prince had now an army of about 9000 men, with which he proceeded on January 10 to besiege Stirling Castle.

On January 3, the same day that the prince marched out of Glasgow, the Duke of Cumberland was hastily recalled from his pursuit of the Highlanders to defend the south coast of England against a threatened landing of the French. The duke's place was taken by General Henry Hawley, a coarse, brutal, and boastful man, who had been appointed in succession to Cope to the chief command in Scotland. He had fought under the Duke of Argyll at Sheriffmuir and thought that the experience then gained of the Highland mode of fighting would enable him easily to destroy the prince's army. So sure did he feel of success that on arriving at Edinburgh his first care was to order the erection of gibbets on which to hang his prisoners. On January 13 he marched out of Edinburgh towards Stirling with an army of about 8000 men, which included about 1000 Argyllshire Highlanders and a regiment of 600 men from Glasgow. On January 16 the prince, expecting Hawley, left a few hundred men to maintain the

blockade of Stirling and drew up his army on the historic field of Bannockburn. As Hawley did not appear on that day, the prince moved forward next day to meet him, and the two armies came together in the afternoon on Falkirk Moor.

While preparations for battle were being made on both sides, Hawley, who despised his opponents as a mere rabble, was being hospitably entertained at Callander House in the neighbourhood by Lady Kilmarnock, whose husband was with the prince and who did everything she could to detain her guest as long as possible. At length, roused by urgent messages, Hawley rushed out excitedly without his hat and immediately ordered his dragoons to advance. These dragoons were to a large extent the same men who had run away at Colt Brigg and at Prestonpans, and at the first volley from the Highlanders they wheeled round and fled. At the same time a violent storm of wind and rain began to blow in the face of Hawley's men, who soon broke up and fled both in the centre and on their left. His right wing made a brave stand and at first had the best of the fight, but the advance of the second line of the prince's army with himself at the head soon drove that wing also into flight. The Highlanders thus gained a brilliant victory with a loss of forty killed and twice as many wounded, while Hawley lost about 500 in killed alone. The defeated general retreated to Edinburgh, where he arrived next day with his troops in a pitiable state of confusion and disarray.

The victory of Falkirk was no great gain to the prince, as many of his Highlanders went off home with their booty. Many of his officers quarrelled about the respective merits of their own services in the battle, and

the discontent was greatly increased by the siege of Stirling, which was regarded by most of his followers as wasted effort. An incident which occurred the day after the battle illustrated the extreme difficulty of managing the Highland army. A private soldier, one of the chief of Clanranald's followers, was doing something to a musket, which went off accidentally and killed one of the sons of the chief of Glengarry. To prevent a quarrel between the two clans the innocent but unfortunate private was shot, but even this did not satisfy the men of Glengarry, and most of them deserted to their homes.

The defeat at Falkirk struck the government with terror and consternation, and the Duke of Cumberland was immediately ordered back to Scotland to assume the chief command. He arrived at Holyrood on January 30, and next day set out for Stirling at the head of a large and well-equipped army. On February 1 the prince, urged by his principal officers, reluctantly broke up his camp at Stirling and, more dejected than ever, began a retreat into the Highlands. With the help of Lord George Murray, he drew up a careful plan for an orderly retreat, but the plan was not carried out and the retreat began in great confusion. The Highlanders crossed the Forth at the Ford of Frew and marched by Dunblane to Crieff, where they broke up into two divisions. One division, accompanied by the prince himself, marched north by Wade's Highland road; the other, under Lord George Murray, marched by Montrose and Aberdeen to Inverness, where both divisions were to unite.

On arriving near Inverness the prince took up his quarters at Moy Castle, the seat of the chief of the clan

Mackintosh, who was on the Hanoverian side, and was then with Lord Loudoun. But Lady Mackintosh adopted the cause of the prince and raised the clan in his service. On hearing that the prince was at Moy Castle with only a small number of followers, Lord Loudoun made a bold attempt to take him prisoner and so end the war. Accordingly on the night of February 16 he secretly despatched about 1500 of his men, including the clan Macleod, from Inverness to surround Moy Castle and take the prince by surprise. Lady Mackintosh, however, had received intelligence of this plan and sent a few trusty men under cover of the darkness to frighten the approaching enemy with war cries and other signs of battle. The trick succeeded, and Loudoun's men, thinking that they had fallen into an ambush, were seized with a sudden panic and fled back to Inverness in extreme confusion, tumbling down in the darkness and trampling each other to death in their wild flight. This incident is known as the Rout of Moy.

Next day the prince assembled as many of his men as could easily be got together and marched to Inverness. Lord Loudoun did not wait for his arrival, but fled across the Beaully Firth into Ross-shire, accompanied by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, and hotly pursued by the Earl of Cromarty, who drove them across the Dornoch Firth into Sutherland. From Sutherland Loudoun and Forbes fled to Skye, and Cromarty then traversed the northern counties, but without obtaining many recruits. The prince took possession of Inverness on February 18 and of Fort George on the 20th. Fort Augustus was captured shortly afterwards, but an attempt to take Fort William ended in failure. There were various minor efforts made from time to time to land men and

supplies from France for the prince's service, but they were generally thwarted by the vigilance of the British ships of war.

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland was steadily advancing northwards. On February 27 he arrived at Aberdeen and there fixed his headquarters until April 8, when he set out for Inverness. A feeble and unsuccessful effort was made by Lord John Drummond to dispute the passage of the Spey on the 12th, but the duke continued his march and arrived at Nairn on the 14th, where some skirmishing took place between his van, which consisted of Argyll Highlanders, and some of the prince's men who had not yet quitted the town. Cumberland's army numbered at least 9000, and they were the best and most seasoned troops of the British army. They were well disciplined, completely organised, with abundant supplies of everything necessary for efficiency, and they were supported by a fleet sailing along the coast.

The prince and his chief officers passed the night of April 14 in Culloden House, but his famished troops were obliged to lie under arms on the cold ground. Many of them had gone to Inverness and other places in search of food. They were discontented from want of pay and they were distracted by divided counsels. Through the influence of his Irish and French friends, the prince had come to dislike and distrust some of his Scottish officers, and especially Lord George Murray, the ablest and most competent man among them. Such were the circumstances in which they were called upon to face the well-equipped and larger army of the Duke of Cumberland. On the morning of the 15th they were formed in order of battle, to await the arrival

of their enemy, on Drummossie Moor, near Culloden House, and about five miles from Inverness. There they remained all day long without any food, except a sea biscuit for each man, but no enemy arrived. In the afternoon intelligence was brought by Lord Elcho, who had reconnoitred the enemy's camp near Nairn, that it was the duke's birthday, and that his soldiers were observing it and apparently did not intend to advance that day. A council of war was then called, and on the proposal of Lord George Murray, with the eager approval of the prince, it was resolved to make an effort to surprise the duke's camp under cover of the night, while his soldiers, as it was supposed, would be lying drunk after the day's festivities. The distance to traverse was twelve miles, the night was very dark, the way was difficult, and the men so completely exhausted that it was found impossible to cover the distance before dawn. It was therefore resolved, when the van was within four miles of the duke's camp, to fall back on Drummossie Moor. Lord George Murray now proposed a retreat into the mountains in order to take up a position inaccessible to cavalry, but Sir Thomas Sheridan and the French officers insisted upon giving battle where they were, and the prince listened to their foolish advice.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 16th intelligence was received that Cumberland's army was advancing in full march. The prince's army was then hurriedly drawn up in two lines with a body of reserves. The right wing was occupied by the Camerons, the Stuarts, and the men of Atholl, and the left wing included the Macdonalds. The troops present numbered in all about 5000 men, and in spite of their deplorable

condition they showed signs of enthusiasm at the prospect of battle. The duke's army, which was almost twice as large, advanced in two lines, with cavalry both on his right and on his left, and he began the battle at one o'clock by playing on the ranks of the Highlanders with his artillery. At the same time a snowstorm which began to blow in their faces greatly increased their difficulties, and after an hour's cannonade, which did great havoc among their ranks, the Highland right and centre charged against Cumberland's position, broke through his first line and reached the second, where they were all but annihilated by the fire of their opponents. The left wing of the prince's army, however, did not come to the charge, and on seeing the repulse of their comrades they retreated in good order to join the rear rank. At the same time the Duke of Cumberland's men pulled down a wall which protected the Highlanders' right flank and thus opened the way for his dragoons to take the prince's second line on the flank and rear. That line, increased by the left of the front line, held its ground for some time, though harassed by a deadly fire, but finding that they were being outflanked by cavalry on the left as well as on the right, while Cumberland was reforming his ranks of infantry to charge their front, they left the field to the enemy and took to flight. Many of the Highlanders fled towards Inverness, but the greater part fled to the mountains. The prince made repeated efforts to rally his men and lingered on the field after their flight began, until he was finally led away by his Irish attendants. The duke's horse took up the pursuit, indiscriminately slaughtering the fugitives and the peaceful townspeople of Inverness who had ventured out for news of the

battle. The duke's loss was about 300 killed and wounded, while more than 1000 of the prince's army fell on the field of battle. About 1200 of the survivors were collected by Lord George Murray at Ruthven in Badenoch, but the prince decided to give up the struggle and sent orders that they should seek their own safety. The rebellion was now ended and the work of vengeance began.

Shortly after the battle Cumberland moved to Fort Augustus, where he fixed his headquarters for about two months. From that centre Hawley and he sent out their soldiers in all directions to exercise every possible kind of outrage on man and woman alike. Much has been said, and no doubt with good reason, about Cumberland's barbarity and cruelty after Cul-loden, but barbarity and cruelty have in past times been the invariable accompaniments of the sojourn of a hostile army among a vanquished people, and the conduct of Cumberland's army was no worse than the conduct of armies has far too frequently been in similar circumstances. But this invasion of the Highlands has been our fortunate country's last experience of actual bloodshed and war, and the memory of it has been allowed to linger perhaps too long among us.

It would not be just, however, to ascribe these cruelties solely to the English soldiers, as has sometimes been done. The whig clans, and especially the men of Argyllshire, who formed part of the duke's army, behaved at least as badly as any of the English troops, while many of the Scottish officers endeavoured to win the duke's favour by an obsequious display of zeal in carrying out his cruel orders against their own countrymen. On July 18 Cumberland left Fort Augustus and

returned to Edinburgh, where he was received with the greatest honour, and where fourteen of the prince's standards borne by so many chimney sweeps had been childishly burnt by the public hangman as a proof of the loyalty of the citizens. From Edinburgh he proceeded to London, where the notoriety of his cruelties had preceded him and earned for him the nickname of the Butcher and a much less fulsome reception. The government, however, heaped honours upon him and awarded him a pension of £25,000 a year, while Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who had done more to uphold the Hanoverian cause in Scotland than any other man, was treated with neglect and refused compensation for the expenses he incurred in supporting the government during the rebellion. The Duke of Cumberland now returned to the command of the army in the Netherlands, where he was defeated next year by the French under Marshal Saxe at the battle of Laufeldt. In the Seven Years' War he received an important command, soon suffered a great defeat at the battle of Hastenbach in Hanover in 1757, and shortly afterwards made a humiliating surrender with 40,000 British soldiers to the French at Klosterseven, near Bremen. He was then recalled and degraded from his rank in the army. He died in 1765 at the age of forty-four.

The government now took up the work of vengeance. The first victims to fall into their hands were the officers of the Manchester regiment, which was left at Carlisle on the retreat from Derby, of whom nine were hanged, disembowelled, and mangled on Kennington Common, London. After Culloden the prisons were packed with unfortunate Highlanders to such an extent that a large number had to be stowed away on men-of-war and

transports until fever broke out among them and many of them died. In defiance of the Treaty of Union the common prisoners were taken out of Scotland to be tried at Carlisle and York for fear the sympathy of their own countrymen might make it difficult to obtain convictions against them in Scotland. In all, three noblemen and between seventy and eighty commoners were executed. Large numbers were transported as slaves to the American plantations. Lord Balmerino, Lord Kilmarnock, and the Earl of Cromarty were tried in Westminster and condemned to death. Cromarty was reprieved, but the other two were executed on Tower Hill in August 1746. The Marquis of Tullibardine was made prisoner, but died in the Tower while awaiting his trial. His brother, Lord George Murray, made his escape and died in exile in Holland in 1760. The Duke of Perth died at sea on his way to France. John Murray of Broughton, who had been the prince's secretary, was taken prisoner, but turned king's evidence against Lord Lovat and obtained a pardon. It was some time after Culloden before Lord Lovat was arrested, and his trial did not take place until March 1747. He was found guilty of high treason and beheaded on Tower Hill on April 9, 1747. Very shortly afterwards an Act of Indemnity was passed granting pardon to all the survivors of those who had taken part in the rebellion, except eighty of the most important persons who had escaped. The only one of them who fell into the hands of the government was Lochiel's brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron, who came to Scotland in 1753 to plan another insurrection, and was arrested and hanged at Tyburn in London.

It now remains to trace the subsequent career of the

prince himself. After quitting Culloden field he dismissed all his followers except his Irish attendants and directed his flight to Gortuleg House near the Falls of Foyers, in Inverness-shire, where Lord Lovat was then residing. Here the prince arrived in the afternoon, and partaking of some light refreshments he proceeded at once by Fort Augustus to the Glengarry country in the west. After wandering about on the mainland for some time, he made his way to the Outer Hebrides, where he hoped to find a French ship, but was disappointed. His flight having been traced to these islands, a vigorous search for him was commenced, and for some time he remained in hiding in South Uist, until about the end of June, when he was rescued from his perilous position by the heroism of a young lady, Flora Macdonald, who conducted him in the disguise of an Irish servant woman to Skye. From Skye he made his way to the mainland, where he had some more narrow escapes, but though the government offered a reward of £30,000 for his capture no one could be found mean enough to betray him, and on September 20 he succeeded in getting on board a French vessel at Lochnanuagh in Moidart, where he landed a little more than a year before. From there he sailed to France and landed at Morlaix near Brest on September 29. He remained in France until the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, when the British government stipulated, as one of the conditions of peace, that he should not be allowed to remain in that country. He was then forcibly conveyed from Paris to Avignon, which belonged to the Pope, and never again set foot on French territory. For a long time he wandered about from place to place, watched by spies and becoming

more and more of an outcast. He is said to have visited London more than once and to have been present in Westminster Abbey at the coronation of King George III. His supporters gradually deserted him, and when his father died in 1766 and the courts of Europe refused to acknowledge his claims he adopted the title of the Count of Albany. In 1772 he married a German princess, Louisa of Stohlberg, but the marriage proved an unhappy one, for the once gallant and chivalrous prince had degenerated into a hopeless drunkard. It is said that his taste for strong drink began during his hardships as a fugitive in the Highlands after the battle of Culloden. He died at Rome on January 31, 1788.

The next heir to the House of Stuart was his brother Henry, Duke of York, a priest and cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, who in 1761 became Bishop of Frascati in Italy. He never asserted his claims to the throne, and towards the close of his life he was granted a yearly pension of £4000 from King George III. He died at Rome on July 13, 1807, in the eighty-third year of his age, the last legitimate male of the House of Stuart. He bequeathed all the crown jewels which his grandfather, James II., had taken from England in 1688 to George IV., then Prince of Wales, who in 1819 gave fifty guineas for the erection of a monument by Canova in St. Peter's, Rome, which bears a simple inscription to James III., Charles III., and Henry IX.

CHAPTER VI

AFTER CULLODEN

WITH the defeat of the clans on Culloden Moor there began in Scotland a new era. Old things had passed away and new things were coming to take their place. The sword alone was not sufficient to restore permanent order and to remove all the causes of rebellion, and so various legislative changes became necessary. The first was an Act to disarm the Highlanders, and August 1, 1746, was fixed as the day by which all arms had to be surrendered. Another measure prohibited the wearing of the kilt or tartan except by soldiers, on the ground that the associations of the Highland garb tended to keep up the warlike spirit of the race. The estates of those chiefs who had joined in the rebellion were confiscated and placed in the hands of commissioners. These estates were not very numerous, as many of the chief men among the rebels had taken the precaution to secure their estates to their own family by transferring the nominal ownership of them on some secret understanding to kinsmen who remained neutral or sided with the government. Hence it was that father and son or brother and brother were so frequently found on opposite sides. Many of the confiscated estates were eventually restored and are still held by the descendants of men who took part in the rebellion.

But something more than this was necessary if rebellion was to be rendered impossible for the future, and the feudal system which still lingered in the Highlands and placed undue power in the hands of the chiefs must be abolished. The clans held their lands on condition of "wardship" or military service, and knew no law save obedience to the commands of the chief, who was both king and judge among them. It was this that made it so easy for the chief to raise his clan and become a source of danger to the peace of the community. In the parliamentary session of 1747, therefore, two Acts were passed dealing with this question. One Act abolished land tenure by wardship and converted all services, due to the superior landlord, into money payments. The other abolished the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, and for the future justice was to be administered not by the local baron or chief, who had hitherto possessed the power of pit (or prison) and gallows over his own people, but by sheriff-substitutes appointed by the crown. The chief promoter of this measure was the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, and he was opposed, though somewhat feebly, by the English tories, who saw in it a dangerous attack on the rights of property, as well as by Duncan Forbes of Culloden and other leading Scotsmen who had no sympathy with the Jacobite cause, but could not bring themselves to view with satisfaction a measure which not only abolished a system on which so much of their own influence depended, but also added so largely to the power of the crown at the expense of the ancient rights of the aristocracy. The small sum of £152,000 was voted by the government to compensate the Scottish nobility for the loss of their hereditary juris-

diction, but only the greater barons and chiefs received any part of this compensation, as the claims of the smaller ones to hereditary jurisdiction were not admitted. Another Act was passed increasing the severity of the penal laws already in force against the Scottish Episcopalians. These measures were accompanied in the same year, 1747, by the Act of Indemnity already referred to.

The absolute and irresponsible power hitherto possessed by the landed aristocracy of Scotland had frequently been used as a terrible instrument of tyranny and oppression in the hands of unscrupulous men. Its abolition proved of great benefit to the common people, and among other things placed the first check on the cruel practice of kidnapping, which had recently sprung up not only in Scotland but in parts of England also. We have already found that many of those who had taken part in the recent rebellions were transported to America, where labour was becoming more and more scarce as plantations increased, and a good price was always willingly paid for a slave. The negro slave trade had not yet commenced. Thus landlords began to realise that it was far more profitable to transport a culprit to the plantations than to hang him, and so sentences of transportation became more and more common. But that was not all. About 1740 nefarious cliques, which sometimes included magistrates and lairds, began to be formed for the purpose of kidnapping boys and youths for the American plantations. These luckless victims were secured in various ways, by force, by false promises, by seizing boys on country roads or kidnapping them from their beds in remote country cottages, and during a terrible famine from which the



DUNCAN FORBES OF CULLODEN.

country suffered in 1740 children were actually sold by parents for food. These criminal practices became much more difficult to carry on after the abolition of the jurisdiction of unscrupulous lairds and chiefs in 1747, but it was not until about twenty years afterwards that the feeling of the country was effectively aroused against the evil by the story of a man named Peter Williamson, who had been kidnapped in Aberdeen at the age of eleven, sold to a planter for £16, and after many strange and curious adventures made his way back to Aberdeen to rack the feelings of his countrymen by the tale of his wrongs.

So long as Jacobitism was a living political force it served as a bond of union between its Scottish adherents and a considerable section of the English tories, but that bond was severed by the defeat at Culloden, and the immediate result was that Scotland became more isolated from England than before. So far, English statesmen concerned themselves but little with Scottish affairs, which both Walpole and Pelham were satisfied to leave in the able hands of Lord Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyll, and his friends. The Scottish people themselves took very little interest either in parliament or in imperial politics. As a rule they were ready to support the government that chanced to be in power in spite of many well-founded complaints against the indifference and the injustice of parliament, which, however, did not treat the people of Scotland any worse than it treated the people of England. Occasionally the affairs of Scotland were entrusted to a responsible Scottish minister or secretary. The last who held this office was the Marquis of Tweeddale in 1744-1745, and after that no other secretary for Scotland was appointed

again until 1885. The usual custom, however, was to entrust the management of Scottish affairs to whichever member of the government was felt to be the most competent and best qualified to undertake it.

The events immediately following the rebellion were not of such a nature as to improve the feeling between the two nations, but Scotland neither entered into useless opposition to England nor held exclusively and sullenly to herself. What she did was to place herself, as a matter of right, on a footing of equality with her powerful neighbour and to enter boldly into competition for whatever prize or reward the British Empire had to offer; and so during the second half of the eighteenth century we find Scotsmen not only eagerly developing the resources of their own country, but rising in large numbers to eminence and fame in England, India, and the colonies, as well as at home. On their return to their native country many of them bought estates, on the improvement and development of which they spent much money, and before the end of the century a large portion of the landed property of Scotland had come into the possession of men who had made fortunes in India. These men did not lose their patriotism nor their interest in their native land as the result of successes achieved and fortunes acquired in other lands; but their views of life were enlarged and their sympathies widened, and thus they helped to bring the two nations closer together. At the same time Scottish children were frequently sent to England for their education, while English youths were attracted to the Scottish universities by the fame of the professors. Scottish men of letters, too, began to study the literary language of the south, and as they gradually acquired

the characteristics of a good style, they not only found in England a profitable market for their works, but at the same time exerted a powerful influence upon the tendencies of English letters and English thought.

But there was yet another bond of union beginning to draw them more closely together, which appealed more powerfully still to the common people of both nations. In the great victories which at this period did so much to promote the growth of the British Empire and to kindle the enthusiasm of the British race, Scottish soldiers of all ranks from the general downwards played a prominent and distinguished part. Thus the barriers that divided the two nations began gradually to disappear, and both began to feel that their interests and their destiny lay in one and the same path. After a little wavering at first, then, which was not altogether unnatural in the circumstances, Scotland finally declined to be drawn into a provincial narrowness such as might find its political expression in a cry for the repeal of the union. That cry might suit a partner who felt only his own weakness and inability to maintain his rights, but the better and more enterprising class of Scotsmen were too conscious of their own strength to have any such feeling, and so they felt themselves in no sense wronged, but very greatly benefited, by a union which widened the field of their energies and gave them their full share in all the wealth and all the glory of a great and growing empire. Had Scotland held aloof from England after Culloden and endeavoured to set up a narrow patriotism and literature of her own, she would have found her poverty to be an insuperable obstacle in the way of sound progress, her energies would thus have been wasted to little or no purpose,

and in course of time she would probably have lapsed into a mere province of England. But by entering so readily and so energetically into the great English movements and enterprises of the age, by asserting all her rights as a partner on equal terms, and by rising superior to provincial tendencies and becoming imperial, she proved her claim to be regarded as a nation, and not only preserved what was best and most valuable in her nationality, but made her influence powerfully felt, and that invariably for good, in all the institutions and all the activities of our world-wide empire. In fact it is no exaggeration to say that in the building up of that empire, Scotland, in proportion to her population and resources, has long held the foremost place.

It is no small credit to the people of Scotland at this time that the first English statesman to call forth their enthusiasm was William Pitt, often spoken of as "The Elder Pitt" or "The Great Commoner" and subsequently created Earl of Chatham. In 1756 Pitt, who had already made a name for himself in the House of Commons, took office in the Duke of Newcastle's whig government as secretary of state, and became the real though not the nominal head of it. It was in the same year that the great Seven Years' War began (1756-1763), in which we had to fight against France in order to retain our American colonies and our growing Indian Empire. The immediate cause of this terrible war, so far as we were concerned, was a dispute about boundaries between British and French colonists in North America. Other nations joined in for reasons of their own, Great Britain and Prussia being arrayed on one side with France, Austria, Saxony, and Russia against them. The war was waged on the continent of Europe, in America, and

in India, and Pitt, who cared little about political parties, immediately undertook the management of it in his own way. His plans were marked by unusual sagacity, energy, and success, and the enthusiasm not only of England, but of Scotland also, was called forth by the glory of his victories.

Pitt was the first English statesman to see Scotland in her true light and to appreciate aright the important part she was destined to play in the building up of the great British Empire. It was he, too, who began to employ Highland soldiers in large numbers and so laid the foundations of the Highland regiments whose heroic achievements have shed so much lustre and honour upon British arms. So far back as 1738 (when the country was on the verge of war with Spain), Duncan Forbes of Culloden had proposed to embody some of the Highland clans as regiments. His plans were approved by Lord Islay and even by Sir Robert Walpole, but their colleagues in the government refused to give their assent, and so the proposal had to be dropped. It was left to Pitt, after the lapse of many years, to put it into effect, and it was his proud boast that he had been the first to appreciate the soldierly qualities of the Highlanders and to enlist them in the service of the empire. It was about 1757, shortly after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, that recruiting became vigorous in the Highlands, and between that date and the peace of 1815 about fifty battalions of Highlanders were raised. "I have sought," said Pitt, "for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the Mountains of the North. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men who,

when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies and who in the war before the last had well-nigh gone to overthrow the state. These men in the last war were brought to combat by your side. They served with fidelity and they fought with honour and conquered for you in every part of the world."

On October 25, 1760, George II. died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. Since 1688 the great whig party which carried out the Revolution had practically ruled the country, but George III., who had been educated in tory principles by his tutor, the Earl of Bute, made it his policy to free the crown from the tyranny of this dominant party and to assert his own influence and authority as king. In 1762 Newcastle resigned. The Earl of Bute now became the first Scottish Prime Minister, and in 1763 brought the great Seven Years' War to a victorious close by the Treaty of Paris, which secured for us possession of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton Island, Prince Edward Island, several islands in the West Indies, as well as the sovereignty of India. Nevertheless, this peace was loudly, but very wrongly, denounced by the whigs as disadvantageous to the country and was therefore very unpopular. A section of the discomfited whigs, who called themselves the Patriots, and prominent among whom was the disreputable John Wilkes, now sought to discredit Bute's tory government, not only by denouncing the peace, but by raising against Bute, and Scotsmen in general, a fierce outcry which was readily taken up by the mobs of London. In the storm of abuse which followed even the king himself was so persistently included that neither he nor Bute could safely appear in the streets of London without protec-



JOHN STUART, 3RD EARL OF BUTE.

tion. In a few months Bute resigned, but the rabid abuse of Scotland still continued, being prompted to a large extent by jealousy of the successes which Scotsmen were achieving in all departments of public life. Meanwhile Scotland herself treated all this abuse with utter indifference. She had nothing but contempt for such patriots as John Wilkes—the patriotism which Dr. Johnson described as “the last refuge of a scoundrel”—and so the good feeling between the best men in both countries still continued. The only effect of the abuse was that for quite a generation the feeling of Scotland was strongly on the side of the king and his party against those who posed as the friends of liberty in England.

When Archibald, Duke of Argyll, died in 1761, the administration of Scottish affairs passed to the Earl of Bute, or rather to his brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, until 1765, when the latter resigned the office he held in the government of the day, and it appears that during the various political changes which followed it was thought that to concentrate the affairs of Scotland in the hands of one man was unsafe for the balance of parties. In 1775 a new parliament met with the tories, who had the support of the Scottish members, in a strong majority. Lord North continued as Prime Minister, while Henry Dundas became Lord Advocate. For the next thirty years Dundas virtually ruled Scotland.

Lord North's administration (1770-1782) was a period of disaster. It fell to his lot to conduct the war with our revolted American colonies, and this he had to do, not only against nearly the whole of Europe, but also against a fierce opposition at home. Except in Glasgow this opposition, however, received little support in Scot-

land, for the leaders of it represented the same party that in Bute's time had endeavoured to secure the support of the mob by a foul-mouthed slandering of the Scottish nation. Besides, the people of Scotland, being much less involved in political strife than was the case in England, were able to see the merits of the dispute in a truer light, and to appreciate at its worth the fact that the colonists had provoked the war to avoid the necessity of contributing towards the payment of the debt that the British government had incurred in defending them against France during the Seven Years' War. It is to the great credit of the people of Scotland that patriotism of that kind did not enlist their sympathy, and though they could not help contrasting Lord North's misfortunes with the glories of Pitt's time, yet the Scottish members of Parliament, almost to a man, gave their support to Lord North and the king. As the war proceeded, France, secretly backed by Frederick the Great of Prussia, joined against us, then Spain and then Holland, while Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark gave our enemies their tacit support. The whole maritime power of the world was thus arrayed against us, and the loss of our supremacy on the sea, though only for a short time, virtually brought the war which began in 1775 to a disastrous close in 1781. By the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 Britain recognised the United States of America as an independent power.

On the whole, Scotland, so far, had taken little or no interest in parliamentary politics since the union. One reason, of course, was that the people had no direct means of making their influence politically felt, for the franchise was so limited that the parliamentary electors formed but a mere fraction of the population. But the

question of parliamentary reform was beginning to engage attention, and social questions of various kinds were also becoming more or less prominent.

In 1773 serious riots, known as meal mobs, occurred along the valley of the Tay between Perth and Dundee, in which granaries were attacked by poor people from the towns, and protests raised against the exportation of corn and the consequent raising of prices. These riots had the effect of drawing attention to the condition of the poor, and the question of their relief soon began to rise into importance and urgency.

Another movement that was creating anxiety and alarm at this time was the constant stream of emigrants leaving the Highlands for the American colonies. As far back as 1722 some Highland emigrants were enlisted at Inverness for Georgia, but it was not until much later that emigration became common in Scotland. A number of Highland soldiers settled in America after the Seven Years' War about 1765, and during the next few years large numbers of their countrymen followed them, until the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1775 put a stop for some time to the tide of emigration. During the war the Highland emigrants, to a man, remained loyal to Britain, and greatly distinguished themselves by their courage and valour in battle as well as by their constancy in the loss and suffering brought upon them by the unsuccessful issue of the war. With the peace of 1783, following the famine of 1782, emigration to America once more became common. One cause of this was that the people were being cleared off the land in some places in order that the smaller holdings might be united into large sheep farms. Another cause was the decay of the clan

system and the inability of barons and chiefs to provide any longer for the necessities of their people, whose numbers increased so rapidly during the peace which followed the battle of Culloden that they could not all find a livelihood in their old homes.

But these were not the only causes. There was a spirit of unrest abroad among the people at the time, and many were prompted to seek new homes, partly by love of adventure and partly by a desire to share in the rumoured wealth of the New World, of which the soldiers who fought in the Seven Years' War brought back such glowing accounts. Thus the depopulation of country parishes went on in spite of the efforts of landlords and ministers to prevent it. Those who tried to discourage emigration were only accused of acting against the interests of the common people by endeavouring to keep up a supply of cheap labour at home. These emigrants were not the class of men that the country could best afford to lose, for they were not only the strongest and most enterprising, they were also the most law-abiding and best educated, as may be gathered from the fact that they used to take schoolmasters with them at their own expense for the education of their children in their new home. The attitude they took up during the War of Independence proved the strength of their character, the constancy of their convictions, and the depth of their loyalty to the traditions and ideals of their old homes. To-day, across the gulf of time, their posterity in America may proudly look unto the rock whence they are hewn.

In 1775 the question of parliamentary reform was brought prominently forward in Midlothian, the constituency represented in Parliament by Henry Dundas,



HENRY DUNDAS, VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

who declared himself favourable to such a project, though the subsequent course of events compelled him to change his mind. Henceforth the question of reform becomes increasingly important and urgent.

The same year, 1775, witnessed the commencement of the emancipation from serfdom of the Scottish colliers and salt miners. Hitherto they were bound for life to the mine in which they worked and were bought and sold with it. The progress of their emancipation, however, was but slow, for, although it began in 1775, it was not until 1799 that the last vestige of their bondage was removed.

Another question in which Scotland was greatly interested at this time was the establishment of a militia. In the years 1778-1779, John Paul Jones, a renegade Scot, who had served in turn under France and Russia and was now cruising the seas in the service of the revolted American colonies, threatened to make a descent upon the coast of Scotland. These dangers called attention to the necessity for home defence, and the sanction of Parliament for the establishment of a Scottish militia was sought, not for the first time, but without success. It was opposed by some who were still afraid of the Jacobite influence in Scotland, and by others who feared lest the establishment of a militia might interfere with Scottish recruiting for the regular army. The question, however, was not allowed to rest, but it was not until 1797 that a Scottish militia was raised as part of the constitutional forces of the crown and placed upon the same footing as the militia in England.

Such were some of the questions in which the people of Scotland were deeply interested in 1783, when William Pitt, "the Younger Pitt," became Prime

Minister at the early age of twenty-four. His acceptance of office was at first laughed at by the leading men in Parliament, and he himself was sneered at as a mere schoolboy. Only one man of importance stood faithfully by him from the outset and that was Henry Dundas. In fact it was Dundas who first recommended the king to appoint him. Henceforth these two men became close and sincere friends, and for the long period of about a quarter of a century that Pitt ruled the British Empire he had no abler or more sincere supporter than Henry Dundas.

CHAPTER VII

WHIGS AND TORIES

FROM the Revolution until the time of Henry Dundas the leading men in Scotland were nominally whigs, but in reality they took very little interest in party politics as then understood in England, and were supporters of the king's government whichever party chanced to be in power. During the second half of the century a change began to take place in the feeling of Scotland, and the distinction between political parties gradually became more and more pronounced. Through the influence of Henry Dundas, who represented what was most characteristic and perhaps best in the thought and aspirations of Scotland at this time, the feeling of the country, so far as the franchise gave expression to it, became more and more tory. Needless to say the ascendancy of toryism produced an equally pronounced whig opposition, and so party feeling began to run high among all classes throughout the whole country. But some time had to pass before this new whig party was in a position to make its influence felt.

In the Church the moderates¹ still formed the dominant party, but in 1778 they took up a movement in support of a measure, which the government was contemplating, to provide relief for Roman Catholics in Scotland, such as had recently been granted in England.

¹ See pp. 193, 194.

This proposal was strongly opposed by the evangelical¹ party, and was followed by anti-Roman Catholic riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1779, and by such an outbreak of anti-Roman Catholic feeling throughout the country that the government finally decided to abandon it. In Scotland the whig opposition denounced the government for contemplating such a measure, whereas the English whigs denounced them for dropping it. The people of Scotland, as a whole, were not yet prepared to accept such a measure, and henceforth the influence of the moderate party which was in favour of Roman Catholic relief began to decline. The evangelical party, sometimes called the "High-flyers" or "The Wild Party," became more noisy and more aggressive, and in the General Assembly of 1782, while the address to the crown was being passed, they proposed an amendment condemning Lord North's government. The debate on this amendment was very animated, and though the moderates were still able to defeat it, yet the bitterness of political strife had now entered into the Church with its many accompanying evils.

Pitt's policy towards Scotland, and especially towards the Highlands, was one of conciliation. Thousands of Highlanders had joined the army to lay down their lives on many a hard-fought field. Thus the Highland garb which they wore had become the symbol of all that was bravest and most loyal in the British army, and in 1783 the Act which made it illegal for any but soldiers to wear it was repealed, but by this time the Lowland garb had come into general use and the common people in the Highlands never again took to wearing the kilt. In the following year, 1784, there was passed another

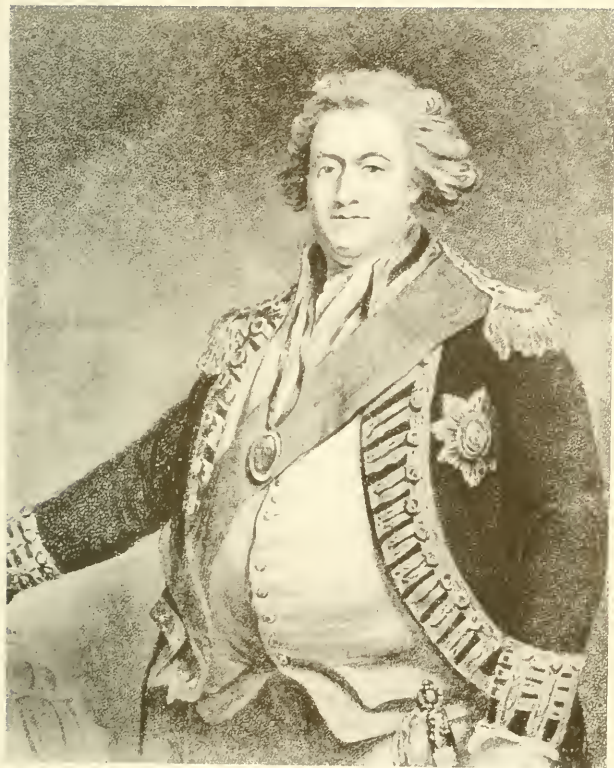
¹ See pp. 193, 194.

important Act of conciliation, by which the estates forfeited in 1745 and subsequently vested in the government were restored to such representatives of the original owners as could establish a hereditary claim to them. This measure was opposed by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, but he received very little support.

Meantime the question of parliamentary and municipal reform was fast coming into prominence, and so greatly was the necessity for such a reform felt that even those whose privileges were being attacked could hardly urge any objection against it. There were about sixty-five boroughs in Scotland at this time and about fifty of them petitioned for reform, complaining that members of parliament and magistrates were practically self-elected, and that the rights and the property of the inhabitants were very seriously invaded. The fifteen burgh members of parliament were elected by various municipal bodies which were self chosen, and for the county members there were little more than two thousand electors for the whole of Scotland. The movement soon became general. Pitt and Dundas were both favourable and were in fact advocates for reform themselves, but unfortunately Scottish reform became a party question, and was put forward by the opposition in parliament in such a way as to make it impossible for the government to take it up. Such was the state of affairs in 1789 when the great Revolution broke out in France, soon to develop into such an extravagance of outrage and violence that the cautious and the prudent became alarmed, and the prospect of a satisfactory reform began to look more and more hopeless. In fact the outbreak of war with France put off all chances of reform for another quarter of a century.

Political feeling, however, had been aroused. The first note of a long and bitter contest had been sounded and Scotland soon became divided into two hostile political camps.

The French Republic declared war against us early in 1793, and our efforts by land in the early stages of that war were unsuccessful, but in 1794 Lord Howe gained a great victory over the French fleet off Brest. Next year Holland and Spain joined France against us, but in 1797 the Spanish fleet was destroyed by Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent, in Portugal, and later in the same year the Dutch fleet was defeated in a great battle off Camperdown on the coast of Holland by a Scottish sailor, Admiral Duncan, afterwards Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, who thus put an end to all immediate danger of invasion. In 1798 a French fleet which had conveyed an army to Egypt with a view finally to the conquest of India was destroyed by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile or Aboukir Bay, and in 1801 a Scotsman, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was himself mortally wounded, defeated the French in the Battle of Alexandria and drove them out of Egypt. In 1805 Napoleon made great preparations once more for the invasion of England, but the combined fleets of France and Spain were destroyed in the Battle of Trafalgar near Gibraltar by Lord Nelson, who was killed in the battle, but his great victory put an end to all danger of a French invasion. The war still continued, but in 1808 the situation underwent a great change. In that year the Spaniards, having risen in revolt against Napoleon, who had tried to force his brother Joseph upon them as their king, appealed to Britain for help. An army was sent to their aid and thus began the Peninsular War (1808-



VISCOUNT DUNCAN OF CAMPERDOWN.

1814). The command was assumed early in the war by a great Scottish soldier, Sir John Moore, who was killed in the Battle of Corunna in 1809. He was succeeded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, under whose great generalship the British army gradually asserted its superiority on many a hard-fought field; and drove the French step by step over the Pyrenees, until the crowning victory of Waterloo in 1815 made Great Britain the leading power of the world and brought the weary and exhausted nations of Europe a long-desired peace. By the Treaty of Paris, which followed, we retained permanent possession of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and British Guiana. During this great war, which lasted for nearly a quarter of a century, our very existence as a nation was sometimes at stake, and in achieving the final victory none played a more important or heroic part than the Scottish soldier and especially the Highlander. Sir Charles Stuart, a son of the Earl of Bute, first Prime Minister of the reign of George III., was the ablest British general in the early part of the war, while Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir John Moore were the chief agents in creating the efficiency and fighting ardour of the army that Wellington afterwards led to victory.

Needless to say the French Revolution found supporters in Scotland, and with them the agitation for reform soon became identified. In 1790 the whigs of Dundee passed an address to the National Assembly (that is, the republican government) of France. The example set by Dundee was taken up in other places and other addresses followed. Pitt still admitted the justice of the cry for reform, but he considered the country to be in too excited a state for such a question

to be taken up with the calmness and judgment which its importance demanded. Dundas was even more strongly opposed to any attempt at dealing with the question under the circumstances which prevailed than Pitt was, and the common sense of ordinary people felt outraged by theories of liberty, equality, and fraternity which led in their practical application to the barbarous horrors which were daily reported from France. In 1792 a society of reformers, called the "Association of the Friends of the People," was formed in England and immediately spread into Scotland, where the agitation for reform soon became identified with its members, many of whom were eager students of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, a seditious work which appeared about this time, while their meetings assumed so violent a tone that the government found it necessary to issue a royal proclamation against seditious writings and meetings.

This was in May 1792, and on the king's birthday, June 4, there occurred in Edinburgh, by way of protest against Dundas and the government, a serious riot which had to be dispersed by the military. The royal proclamation was followed in 1793 and 1794 by several prosecutions, which in the heat of strife were unfortunately conducted in a manner reflecting but little credit on the judicial bench of Scotland. In all these trials the leading judge on the bench was the Lord Justice-Clerk, Lord Braxfield, a coarse, masterful man of powerful intellect and rough and ready wit, who despised popular opinion and disliked change. He admitted no necessity for reform and held that the landed interest alone was entitled to representation, that the British constitution was the best that ever

existed, and that it was impossible to make it better. He strained every point in the law against the defendants and was as much a prosecutor as he was judge. Braxfield, however, was an honest man, without any taint of corruption or any personal ends to serve, and there can be no doubt that in his own rough way he represented the predominant feeling of Scotland at that time. The French republicans had declared war against Great Britain with the avowed object, as already stated, of promoting revolutionary principles, and one can hardly wonder that, at home, the prevailing feeling against the politicians who were suspected of being ready to play into the hands of their country's enemies was one of indignation and alarm.

The chief men tried for sedition were Thomas Muir, a young and well-educated advocate, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, an Englishman of good family and a graduate of Cambridge, William Skirving, a friend of Palmer and educated at Edinburgh University, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Fitzgerald. The views expressed by these men and the offences with which they were charged could hardly be described as extreme or dangerous, but they were guilty of disregarding the royal proclamation which had recently been issued against seditious writings and meetings while the country was in a state of panic, and they were all sentenced to long periods of transportation, of twelve and fourteen years. These trials led to keen discussion in Parliament, where the bias shown against the prisoners by the judges was vigorously and eloquently denounced by Fox, Sheridan, and other whig speakers. But the opinions of these men commanded little respect in Scotland, and their adverse criticism only helped to confirm the feeling of the country in favour of Braxfield's conduct.

In April 1794 a riot occurred in one of the Edinburgh theatres, where some Irish students, who refused to uncover during the singing of the national anthem, were beaten into respectful behaviour by some young tories who were present. This disturbance is worth mentioning only because Sir Walter Scott, then a young man, was one of the tory leaders in the fray. Nevertheless, the influence of the tory party in Scotland was perceptibly declining. The municipal administration of the country was undoubtedly corrupt and oppressive. Many of the tories were narrow and selfish and thought only of the interests and privileges of their own class, while those among them who felt the necessity for reform were frightened lest any attempt to carry out changes in such unsettled times might end in anarchy. Thus the way was being prepared for the rise of a new whig party, which was formed about 1796 under the leadership of Henry Erskine, an Edinburgh advocate of noble birth, eminent talent, great eloquence, and other popular gifts. The new party soon began to make their presence felt and in 1802 they started the *Edinburgh Review*, the leading spirits in that enterprise being Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham, Sydney Smith, a clergyman of the Church of England then living in Edinburgh, and Francis Horner, afterwards a prominent whig member of Parliament. The new review was brilliantly conducted and soon acquired a wide circle of readers not only in Scotland but in England as well. At first its politics were not very pronounced, but it gradually showed more and more bias until at last it became the avowed and ardent advocate of whig principles of progress and reform. These youthful leaders of the new whig party were men of conspicuous talent

and great enterprise, but their outlook was narrow; they were out of sympathy with many of the traditions that their countrymen cherished most dearly, and they were disliked by the two greatest Scotsmen of the age, Sir Walter Scott and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers. Another young whig of the period, who afterwards played a great part in the affairs of Scotland, was Henry Cockburn. For many years the *Edinburgh Review* had the field all to itself, but in 1817 *Blackwood's Magazine* was started in opposition to it, and in the same year the *Scotsman* was started as the organ of the whig party. The *Quarterly Review* had been started in London in the tory interest and in opposition to the *Edinburgh Review* in 1809.

In 1806, Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville, was impeached by the whig opposition for "gross malversation and breach of duty" as treasurer of the navy. The news of his acquittal on all the charges brought against him was received in Scotland with an enthusiasm which for a time lessened the influence of the whigs and accentuated the feeling between themselves and the tories. It was during the excitement and clamour preceding this trial and while his greatest friend was still under the cloud that Pitt died on January 23, 1806.

But in spite of this temporary tory triumph there were various social causes at work which helped to maintain the influence of the whigs. Side by side with the increase of wealth there was also, especially in the larger towns, a startling increase of poverty, which called for remedial measures. And even that was not all. From 1808 to 1813 there was a succession of bad harvests, and as supplies could not be obtained from abroad because of the war there was great scarcity of

food and prices became exorbitantly high. The high price of wheat gave an artificial stimulus to agriculture, which even legislative protection could not maintain after our trade with the continent was restored by the peace of 1815. At the same time the increase of capital among the commercial classes led to an over-production of manufactured goods for which there was no market. The result was that, while the depression in agriculture was driving farm labourers into the towns, manufactures had to be suspended and thousands were thrown out of employment. All these circumstances were used by the whigs to promote the advancement of their own party, while the reactionary toryism of the period, though fully conscious of the national distress, seemed to neglect it, and apparently sought no other remedy but repression.

In 1817 there was a series of state prosecutions against political agitators charged with sedition and treason, but the Lord Advocate and the crown lawyers conducted the cases badly and feebly and the trials proved abortive. The only practical result was to make the agitation for reform more violent than ever, until in 1820 a serious attempt was made in Glasgow to bring about an insurrection which had to be suppressed by military force. On April 6 an armed mob set out from Glasgow to Kilsyth, in Stirlingshire, where they expected to be joined by a number of men sufficiently large to take possession of the Carron ironworks in order to supply themselves with artillery. On the way they were met at Bonnymuir, near Falkirk, by a body of yeomanry, when a struggle took place in which some lives were lost and several rioters taken prisoners. There were riots also at Stirling, Dumbarton, Paisley,

and elsewhere, and in the trials which followed twenty-four of the prisoners were sentenced to death, but the sentence was carried out only in three cases—one was hanged in Glasgow and two at Stirling.

It would be wrong, however, to suppose, as was sometimes done, that the tory party thought of no other remedy but repression for these disturbances. Many of them felt the necessity for remedial legislation and were willing to give the movement for reform their support now that all danger from abroad had passed away. Under the influence of such men as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel the patriotism and the national feeling of the old tory party were to a large extent restored, and they became sincerely interested, not merely in the preservation of privileges, but in the well-being and prosperity of the nation at large. The tory party still had the sympathy and the support of many of the best and the greatest men in Scotland, as being more national and more patriotic than the whig party, but the bitterness of political partisanship had considerably toned down before the Reform Bill was passed by the whig ministry of Earl Grey in 1832. The passing of this Bill was hailed in Scotland with a frenzy of enthusiasm as the dawn of a new era of liberty and prosperity, and the general election which followed shortly after resulted in an overwhelming majority for the whigs, but needless to say the popular hope was not fulfilled.

In Scotland the representation had been much more imperfect and corrupt than in England, but it was now entirely changed. The county franchise was given to all holders of property paying a yearly rent of £50. The borough franchise was given to householders pay-

ing a yearly rent of £10. The number of county members remained the same as before, the borough members were increased from fifteen to twenty-three, making a total of fifty-three members for the whole of Scotland. The Scottish Reform Act of 1868 raised the number to sixty, and the Act of 1884 to seventy-two, distributed as follows—thirty-nine county members, thirty-one borough members, and two university members. A Scottish Bill for Burgh Reform was passed in 1834.

After the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, Scotland became so deeply absorbed in ecclesiastical controversy that for many years political questions, except in so far as the Church was concerned, occupied quite a secondary place. The Church question is dealt with in another chapter. In other respects the political interests and the party distinctions of England and of Scotland have gradually become more and more alike.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL LIFE

THE period immediately preceding the union was one of misfortune and disaster for Scotland. To begin with, the country was exhausted by the long civil war which began with the signing of the National Covenant and ended only with the Massacre of Glencoe in 1692. To add to the distress of the nation this was followed by seven consecutive years (1696-1703) of blight and famine, which were known among the whigs as the "hungry years," but which the Jacobites called "King Willie's years," and which they believed to have been sent upon the land as a judgment for the banishment of their lawful king. During these years there were no harvests gathered, and there was dire scarcity of food for man and beast. Cattle and sheep perished by the thousand, and the mortality among the people in some places was so great that they could not bury their dead. Whole villages disappeared in ruins and in many parishes the population was reduced by at least a half. The population of the country at that time was about one million, and it was calculated towards the close of those dark and hungry years that there were more than two hundred thousand beggars and vagabonds wandering over the land, many of them a pest and a terror to the whole community. Beyond the bitter struggle to provide for the barest necessities of life there were no

industries carried on, and as the whole currency of the realm amounted to no more than an average of ten shillings a head of the population, there was evidently no reserve of wealth in the country to face so many years of dearth and destitution.

Such then were the untoward and inauspicious circumstances in which the negotiations for union with England were commenced and carried through to a successful issue. With the Treaty of Union a new era dawned upon the country, and though the benefits of that measure came at first but slowly, yet the energy and intelligence of the people began at once to be devoted to industry, commerce, and learning, with the result that the social progress of Scotland during the eighteenth century stands forth as one of the most remarkable and instructive chapters of modern history.

The poverty of the country at this time was reflected in its appearance, which was bleak and desolate. Except in some parts of the Highlands, such as Strathspay, the ancient forests had entirely disappeared, and the country, except occasionally in a churchyard or round a nobleman's mansion, was entirely treeless. The arable land consisted of scattered patches on the hill sides, because the low-lying lands, which are now so well cultivated and so fertile, were then usually too wet and marshy for cultivation, so that to a very large extent the country was a dismal wilderness of heather-clad moor and mountain. Here and there might be seen the massive castellated mansion of some baron or great chief, but most of the houses of country gentlemen were homely dwellings of two stories with corbel-stepped gables, usually built in some sheltered corner with a southern aspect, and often surrounded with trees,

especially as the century advanced and tree planting became common. The houses of the common people consisted of mere hovels built of turf or of dry stones with the holes in the wall stuffed with moss to keep the wind and the cold out. The peat fire was on the centre of the floor and the smoke escaped by a hole in the roof. At night the cattle, when they were only few, were tied at one end of the house, while the people slept on heather beds on the floor at the other end, with their feet turned, in winter, towards the fire to keep them warm. The roof of the house was often so low that a man could not stand upright under it. Only the better class of farmers had two rooms in their houses, which were otherwise little better than the huts of their herds and ploughmen. The usual thatch was heather or brackens, for the straw was all required to feed the cattle. The constant exposure to the weather outside and the peat smoke inside, together with the hardness of their lot, gave the people a dark and withered appearance and made them look old before their time, but, in spite of appearances, they were, as a rule, vigorous and healthy both in mind and in body, and capable, when occasion required, of mental effort as well as of physical labour.

The clothing of the common people was of the plainest and coarsest description. The men wore coarse homespun of uncoloured wool called hodden-grey, which, however, was sometimes dyed blue, and this was made into garments by tailors who travelled from house to house wherever their services might be required. The women wore short petticoats of the same material, with shawls of bright colour or tartan over their heads or shoulders. Shirts were made of woollen cloth or coarse linen and were changed as a rule only twice a year, at

Whit Sunday and at Martinmas, and both men and women frequently went barefoot. The men invariably wore the blue bonnet, which in shape was much the same as what is now better known as the "tam-o'-shanter." A black bonnet was a sign of dignity and higher rank and was sometimes worn by the better-class farmers and the smaller lairds, who were called "bonnet lairds." The ministers and the more important lairds were the only people who wore the three-cornered hat of the period, though, in the towns, bailies and even schoolmasters occasionally aspired to that dignity. The laird often wore the same homely homespun as his people, but gentlefolks usually had gay garments which were donned on the occasion of a marriage or a baptism or during a visit to Edinburgh, and as fashions did not change so rapidly then as now a young lady might appear, without any sense of unfitness, in a silk gown which had once belonged to her mother or even to her grandmother. It was not possible in those days to spend much money on dress, for a rent-roll of £500 was considered great wealth, and many a man of rank and high lineage had to maintain his state on less than £100, which was paid him partly in kind—so many sheep, poultry, eggs, and bolls of oats and barley, etc.

In the early part of the eighteenth century Highlanders wore the belted plaid, which was a piece of cloth some yards in length and which served as a blanket at night. One end of it was adjusted in plaits round the thighs and loins and held in position by a belt, while the other was spread over the upper part of the person, and fastened together in front by means of a brooch or pin. Beneath this was sometimes worn the trews or tight-fitting trousers, which were finished off below in hosen

or stockings, all made out of the same piece of cloth. Shoes, when worn, were often made of untanned hides. Gentlemen wore plaids of finely worked tartan, the making of which required ingenuity and skill. The women dressed much the same as in the Lowlands, except that the use of tartan appears to have been more common among them. The garments or plaids of the common people were made of coarse cloth either of the natural colour of the wool or of a reddish-brown or russet colour produced from the cudbear plant, a lichen which grows abundantly on the rocks in the Highlands, and which in Scotland is sometimes called crottle. A reference to early pictures of Highlanders, such as may be found in Burt's *Letters from the North of Scotland*, shows that the Highland dress in its present form is of comparatively recent origin. The change from the belted plaid to the modern kilt appears to have begun about the time that Wade was making his roads in the Highlands, and is said to have been the invention of an Englishman, an iron-worker in Glengarry, of the name Thomas Rawlinson, who cut off the part of the plaid worn round the loins, fixed the plaits by stitching, and so produced the philabeg or modern kilt. This new form of garment was found to be so much more convenient, especially for workmen, that the use of it soon became general. By the commencement of the nineteenth century the kilt had largely given place, especially among the common people, to ordinary garments of the coarse blue cloth and sometimes of the hodden-grey of the Lowlands.

At meals the farmer, his family, and his servants sat round the same table, such as it might chance to be, and partook of the same food out of the same common dish.

Each man had his own horn spoon, which he carried with him wherever he went. Knives and forks were unknown, and on the rare occasions that meat found its way to his table the goodman of the house cut it up with his pocket-knife and divided it among his household. The staple diet consisted of porridge, oat or barley cakes, cabbage, milk, and ale. Oatmeal, however, was often considered a luxury, barley-meal being much more common. There were three meals a day when people could afford it.

During the long winter evenings the women were busy spinning or sewing, while the men were making something which might be useful in their everyday occupation, such as a straw horse collar, or a flail, or perhaps cobbling old shoes. The light was supplied by burning chips of resinous pine roots found in the peat moss, or perhaps only by the fitful gleams of the peat fire. In spite of what might seem their hard and untoward circumstances the people were generally satisfied with their lot, for they knew no other, and in the winter evenings there was often a good deal of merry-making—piping, fiddling, and dancing, and tales and songs, especially at the social gatherings called “rockings,” which were held perhaps in a barn, when the company was large, and to which on fine moonlight nights young men and women gathered from the whole neighbourhood. The women brought their sewing or knitting or even their spinning with them, so that their household duties might not be neglected, while the young men entertained them with song and other forms of merriment. These meetings were so called from the “rock” or distaff used by the women in spinning. The distaff and spindle began to give way to the spinning-wheel

about 1730, but the meetings still continued under the old name and were common in the days of Burns.

All family events, such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals, were made occasions of social gatherings, and sometimes of drunkenness and boisterous mirth. This was specially the case at "penny bridals," as weddings were called when the neighbours contributed money—usually a penny Scots each—or food and drink to provide a feast for some poor couple. Farmers and even lairds sent their contributions, and the penny bridal usually became the excuse for a large gathering at which dancing, drunkenness, and sensuality were often carried to a degrading extreme. The Church, with good reason, endeavoured to suppress these gatherings, but mixed dancing was one of the great delights of the common people, and the penny bridal, with its dancing and its excesses, continued in defiance of ecclesiastical censure.

Funerals also were made an excuse for feasting and drinking, and it sometimes happened that a drunken funeral party arrived at the churchyard to find that the coffin had been left at the house or lost on the way. The funeral of a laird or chief was a great event, to which people flocked from far and near, beggars and vagrants included, and as all had to be liberally supplied with food, drink, and tobacco the expense was frequently so great as to leave a considerable burden on the estate of the deceased. The poorest and meanest men were anxious to leave enough money to provide for some entertainment at their funeral. A man sometimes had his coffin made years before he died, while women spun and prepared their own winding sheets, which were kept with care until required. In the

terrible poverty which followed the hungry years the parish frequently provided for public use a coffin with a movable bottom through which the body was dropped into the grave, while the coffin was reserved for further use.

A great event in the rustic life of Scotland in the eighteenth century was the celebration of the Holy Communion, which was held as a rule once a year, usually in June or July. On these occasions there was always a large gathering of people, but when the minister was famous as a preacher people flocked to hear him from all the neighbouring parishes from distances of forty or fifty miles, until the parish could no longer provide accommodation for them, and they had to sleep in sheds, barns, on the floor of the church, or even in the open air. The services began on Thursday and continued until Monday, and as country parishioners were as a rule poor people, the feeding of so large a multitude for so many days was often such a serious problem that ministers sometimes had to put off the communion year after year, because the resources of the parish could not bear so great a strain. When the concourse of people was greater than the church could accommodate, as was usually the case, the services were held in the open air and the minister preached from a wooden tent erected for the purpose. The more evangelical among the people, especially in the south-west country, took great delight in these open-air services, because they helped to keep alive the memory of the heroic days of the Covenanters and their conventicles. Round about the tent was gathered a densely packed crowd of eager listeners, while on the distant fringe men and women lounged and talked or lay down and slept at their ease



FRANCIS, LORD JEFFREY.

and frequently adjourned to the nearest inn, so that the gathering was not without its ugly features, and Burns's description of the "Holy Fair" is not altogether an exaggeration. As a rule, however, these gatherings were regarded with solemnity by many members of all classes of the community, from the laird in his laced three-cornered hat and the farmer in his homespun hodden-grey down to the poor and even the beggars, who came from near and far for spiritual refreshing as well as for a share of the alms that were usually distributed at the close of Monday's services. With the rise of Dissent about the middle of the century, and the breaking up of the community into rival religious sects, the attendance at communion services began to fall off, and as the moderate party at the same time discouraged such gatherings their popularity gradually began to decline. But they were evidently popular among the evangelicals of the south-west in the time of Robert Burns, and have been kept up to some extent more especially in the Highlands until the present day.

The Sabbatarianism of Scotland has long been proverbial, and never was the observance of Sunday enforced more strictly in any community than among the Presbyterians of Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was not left to a man's own choice to attend church or not as he pleased. Attendance was compulsory. Elders patrolled the parish on Sunday, prying into alehouses and private dwellings, and those who were found strolling in the fields or idling at home were either dragged to church or reported to the kirk session to be admonished and perhaps fined. In towns the magistrates were always ready to assist

in this work and sometimes appointed men to help the elders in their search for delinquents. It occasionally happened that these spies—for spies they certainly were—not only took bribes to remain silent, but even levied blackmail by threatening to bring false charges against their innocent victims. In Glasgow, which was then the stronghold of the more extreme forms of Presbyterianism, the observance of Sunday was enforced with a rigour that must have been grievous to bear, but as the moderate party, with their more practical teaching and more Christian tolerance, began to rise into prominence and influence much of this superstitious tyranny came to an end, while Sunday happily still continued to be religiously observed as a day of rest and worship.

In the midst of the strictest orthodoxy and in spite of the most regular church attendance gross superstition was very prevalent. The common people had the most implicit faith in the efficacy of charms and incantations, which were the remedies usually resorted to in case of an attack of toothache, a sprained ankle, or any other minor common ailment. For some ailments, and especially for epileptic or any other kind of fits, it was a common thing to go on a pilgrimage to some sacred well. Omens were eagerly watched for at the beginning of every undertaking and implicitly believed in, and there were lucky and unlucky days which were carefully observed. It was unlucky for a farmer to begin his spring ploughing before Candlemas (February 2). It was unlucky to glean the cornfield too carefully because God might require some stray grains in fulfilment of his promise to feed the fowls of the air. It was unlucky to weed a field too clean because the earth had to yield weeds as the result of Adam's fall. Pagan rites

and ceremonies preserved from remote antiquity were practised at certain seasons, such as Hollowmas or Hallowe'en (October 31) and Beltane (May 1), in the confident belief that they could avert misfortune and bring luck and prosperity. If a child did not thrive, it was believed to be because it came under the influence of an evil eye, or perhaps because it was a fairy changeling, and due rites had to be performed to undo the evil or to bring the real child back again. Many of the ills and misfortunes of life were believed to be the work of witches, and long after 1736, when the law for burning witches was abolished, solitary old women of unprepossessing appearance were eyed askance and with awe, or treated with obsequious kindness in order to avert their malice. When in spite of kindness a reputed witch was suspected of evil doings, she was sometimes seized by her angry victims, who drew her blood "above the breath" by cutting on her forehead the sign of the cross, which was believed to put an end for ever to her malignant powers. Against these superstitions the Church fought in vain. The practice of them, however, was carefully concealed from the ministers and elders for fear of the admonitions and fines of the kirk session, but the practice was continued all the same, for old inherited beliefs die hard among the ignorant, and in outlying parts of the country some of these superstitions probably linger still. As for witchcraft, even ministers themselves, especially the evangelicals and the seceders, believed in it, and denounced their more enlightened and humane brethren of the moderate party, who looked upon it as a superstition and supported the abolition of the Act for burning witches.

In spite of poverty and superstition there was a sym-

pathetic kindness about the social life of Scotland in those times. Servants lived on terms of the utmost familiarity with the family of their master, and were ready to enter into every conversation with advice or comment as they thought fit. The nobleman or laird lived much at home among his own people, usually clad like themselves in plain homespun cloth, and talking their homely speech, broad Scots or Gaelic as the case might be. He had power of life and death over all living on his estates, and though that power was sometimes grievously abused, yet the abuse was exceptional, and as a rule he was anxious for the well-being of his people and ever ready to share in their joys and in their sorrows. An instance of this sympathy is to be found in a law observed in the hungry years, which exempted a starving man from being charged with theft for stealing food when he had no other means of obtaining any.

In other ways, too, the stern and merciless laws of those days were more humane in Scotland than in England. About the middle of the century there were more than one hundred and sixty crimes in English law which were punishable by death and this number was increased before the end of the century. In Scotland many of these offences were punishable only by imprisonment or flogging. Besides, the judges possessed discretionary powers and might modify their sentences according to circumstances, whereas in England every crime had its assigned penalty and extenuating circumstances could not be taken into account. A common thief in Scotland was liable to be hanged only after his third offence and even then the judge might let him off with a flogging, or a reputed witch legally liable to a sentence of burning might be let off with banishment from the parish.

But even this was a severe sentence, for by the rules of the kirk session no stranger was allowed to settle in a parish unless he could produce a certificate from the session of his last parish. Thus the unfortunate outlaw was driven from place to place a homeless vagrant, unless he could manage to lose his identity among the population of one of the larger towns. It sometimes happened that the hereditary judge turned his powers to wicked but profitable account by threatening a prisoner with sentence of death and then offering him the option of being sold as a slave to the American plantations. Needless to say the offer was accepted and the unjust judge was paid a good price for his victim.

The hereditary jurisdictions were abolished in 1748. After that, the relations of the baron or chief with his people quickly underwent a change. From being the protector and judge of his people, on whose prosperity and goodwill his own influence and power mainly depended, he gradually lapsed into a mere landlord whose main interest was to get out of them as much rent as possible, but yet, in spite of some disadvantages, it cannot be denied that the change was for the better. On the whole Scotland was singularly free from crime in those days. The prisons, wretched as they were, were certainly not worse than in England and were rarely crowded. When John Howard visited Scotland in 1775 he was struck by the small number of prisoners. Hangings were comparatively rare, and during the latter part of the century there were not more than about half a dozen a year for the whole of the kingdom, whereas in England it was not an uncommon thing for thirty or forty persons to be sentenced to death at one assize. As the century passed many old punishments,

such as the pillory, carving of ears, fines for Sabbath-breaking, and various others, fell more and more into abeyance and finally dropped out of use.

The parochial authority in all things was the kirk session, that is, the minister and his elders, and they had many duties to attend to. They had to watch over the morals and conduct of the people, to enforce attendance at church, to punish Sabbath-breakers and all other petty offenders, to keep the school in repair, and to look after the poor. For the relief of the poor there was no compulsory rate as in England, and although there was an old Act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1672, authorising such a rate, it was rarely put in force even in Edinburgh and Glasgow until about 1770, so that as a rule the only money at the disposal of the kirk session were the fines exacted from offenders and the church collections. These collections were invariably small, and all the base and foreign coins that came into the parish found their way into them, so that the relief which the kirk session was able to afford was sometimes of a meagre nature. But the people were as a rule kindly disposed towards the unfortunate, and the doles of the kirk session were often supplemented by private charity, at weddings, funerals, and on various other occasions. Sometimes a licence was granted to certain deserving persons to beg throughout the parish. These licensed beggars were called "blue gowns" or "gaberlunzies," and with their gossip and news formed quite a feature of the rustic life of Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century. With the progress of agriculture, after the middle of the century, the support of the rustic poor became a less serious question, but, at the same time, new difficulties were coming into

existence, as the result of the crowding of loafers and idlers into the large towns, and it was these new difficulties that eventually made it necessary for the authorities to fall back upon their power to levy a poor rate. The chief Act by which the relief of the poor is now administered in Scotland was passed in 1845.

The best society in Scotland was naturally to be found in Edinburgh, where every nobleman had his town house and where the aristocracy of the land crowded with their families during the session of the old Scottish Parliament. After the Treaty of Union, however, the social importance and brilliancy of Edinburgh began to decline and the nobility resorted more and more to London. Nevertheless, it still continued to be the scene of a great display of style and fashion, and the nobles, divines, professors, judges, and literary men who were to be met there during the second half of the century formed as interesting and intellectual a society as could be found in any capital in Europe. As the old town of Edinburgh was hemmed in by walls which had been built as far back as the early part of the sixteenth century, the gradual increase of population at length caused an overcrowding. Houses were built up to the enormous height of ten or twelve stories, and families of all social grades might be found living in the various flats of the same building, all using the same common stairs. The very poorest lived in the cellars beneath, workmen and mechanics in the garrets above, with perhaps a noble lord, a judge, a minister, or physician in some of the flats between. The accommodation within was always limited, and a man of any social pretensions usually had his favourite tavern where he could make appointments, not only for social purposes, but

for the transaction of business as well. There physicians saw their patients and the lawyers met their clients. There congenial friends met to pass the evening in pleasant conviviality until the beat of the town guard drum at ten o'clock reminded them that the time had arrived for all respectable citizens to retire to their homes.

The streets were narrow and dirty, but usually full of animation and life. The people were all known to each other and a delightful familiarity existed between all ranks and classes. When the sweep who lived in the cellar below met the nobleman who lived in one of the flats above they exchanged greetings; a judge might be seen questioning a caddie for interesting gossip to retail to his wife; and the beggar was ready with an outspoken criticism on the last sermon preached by the minister from whom he was receiving an alms in the street.

In the morning people were early astir and shops were open by seven o'clock. At eight o'clock the citizens sat down to a substantial meat breakfast with ale or perhaps sack or claret for drink. The poor breakfasted when and how they could. When the bells of St. Giles rang at half-past eleven the citizens left their shops and offices for their favourite taverns, where they refreshed themselves with a nip of brandy or a drink of ale. The dinner hour was between one and two, but became later as the century advanced. In the afternoon lords, lawyers, ministers, and physicians, in short all who could afford the time, congregated at the Cross, by St. Giles, for gossip and social converse, while the ladies met in each other's houses and at four o'clock drank ale or claret, until between 1720 and 1730, when it became the fashion to drink tea. Ladies as well as gentlemen took

snuff. About eight o'clock they sat down to a sumptuous supper, followed, on every excuse, by copious libations until a late hour of the night, or perhaps an early hour in the morning.

During the early years of the century the Church frowned sternly on all this gaiety and pleasure. Nevertheless, those who could afford to enjoy themselves continued to do so, and as the moderate party rose into prominence the vigilance and censorship of the Church in the matter of legitimate amusement were somewhat relaxed. In 1736 Allan Ramsay, the poet, attempted to open a theatre, but clergy and magistrates combined against him and the theatre had to be closed. Nevertheless, we read of many dramatic entertainments given from time to time, including the performance in 1756 of Home's tragedy of *Douglas*, when some ministers and elders shocked the community by going to see it. At length in 1764 a theatre was duly licensed and became one of the recognised institutions of the city.

But the interests and activities of the better classes were shown in other ways than amusements and pleasures. They were intelligent and patriotic, and they were anxious by all possible means to promote the welfare and interests of their country. In 1754 Allan Ramsay, the younger, founded the Select Society for the Encouragement of Art, Science, and Literature, which soon included all the leading men of Edinburgh in its membership. A few years afterwards they formed themselves into a "Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language," and in 1761 they employed for their guide and instructor, somewhat inconsistently however, an Irish actor and teacher of elocution, Thomas Sheridan, the father of

the well-known writer, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. These efforts to acquire the Anglican accent and pronunciation excited the sarcasm of the old-fashioned, but the "modern mode," as it was sometimes called, continued to gain ground not only in Edinburgh but all over the country. The Scots speech was universally spoken then and until towards the end of the century by all Scotsmen of whatever rank, but it was spoken by the better classes with a refinement which ceased to be cultivated as southern English gradually became the spoken language of the educated, and for any trace of which one would listen in vain to-day in the Canongate or High Street of Edinburgh. Though David Hume was master of such an admirable English style in his writings, yet his speech, like that of most of his literary Edinburgh contemporaries, was broad Scots. By the end of the century educated young men of the better class spoke English, differing from that of the south only in the accent, which was not unpleasant to English ears.

About 1770 the richer families began to migrate out of the overcrowded Old Town into larger and more spacious houses on the north side of the city, where the New Town was beginning to rise. The North Bridge, which was finished in 1772, opened up an easy way to the new suburb, which began after 1780 to grow up very rapidly, so that by the end of the century the wealthy and the fashionable had permanently taken up their abode in it. With this change came other changes also. Old customs, old ways, and old ideas were passing away and Edinburgh was gradually becoming what it is at the present time.

Throughout the whole of the eighteenth century

Scotland in the midst of her poverty could boast of a rich variety of social classes and types of character. There was the Lowland laird, shrewd, practical, and homely, but dignified withal; there was the Highland chief, proud, despotic, but romantic and generous, with an exterior polish often acquired in France; there was the cultured and refined scholar, the learned lawyer, and the practical man of science; the enterprising merchant and the expert agriculturist. In religion there was the broad, tolerant, large-minded, and cultured moderate; the narrow, fervent, earnest, and mystic Evangelical; and the Episcopalian, clinging through poverty and persecution to his own ideals, with a devotion which forms one of the most pleasing features of Scottish ecclesiastical history. But among all classes, rich and poor alike, there was one preponderating type, "strong, rugged, and quick in intellectual effort and intellectual adaptiveness, tenacious of old habits, self-centred and reserved in its pride of race, and accustomed by long habits of endurance to master difficulties and to force a livelihood out of the most unpromising materials."¹ It was this dominant type of character, asserting itself in all classes of the community, that in one century raised Scotland out of the depths of ignorance and poverty to a front place in the industry, commerce, science, and literature of the whole civilised world.

It was in Glasgow that the commercial and social progress of the eighteenth century first began. The Treaty of Union did away with the English laws which prohibited Scotland from trading with America and the Indies, and the citizens of Glasgow were not slow

¹ Sir Henry Craik, *A Century of Scottish History*.

to take advantage of this relief. Before long they established a great and flourishing trade with America, and with this increase of trade there came also an increase of wealth and a great and rapid improvement in the condition of all classes of the community. In other parts of the country no real progress began until after the settlement which followed the Battle of Culloden at the middle of the century. The compensation of £152,000 paid to the nobles and chiefs for the loss of their hereditary jurisdiction was employed by them in improving their estates, and this sum, small though it was, gave the agriculture of the whole country a fresh start on new and improved lines. At the same time men who had made fortunes in India and other places were returning home and buying estates, on the improvement of which they were ready to spend large sums of money. Much low-lying land was drained and reclaimed and better houses were built. Sheep farming began to be better understood and to yield large profits. In 1751 the Turnpike Road Act was passed, by which a rate was levied for the making and maintenance of public roads, and in a few years carts became common instead of pack saddles and sledges. Trade was thus facilitated and intercourse between the various parts of the country began to be more common. Potato cultivation was becoming general about 1750, to be followed by the cultivation of turnips, and the use of these vegetables had a beneficial effect on the health of the people.

With all these changes there came a marked improvement in the condition of the people. By 1790 the houses of the common people were built with chimneys and glazed windows, and much of the filth and squalor

of former times had disappeared; their diet became much better and more varied, and on Sunday both men and women went to church in becoming and expensive garments. The surest sign of sound industrial and commercial progress is to be found in the simultaneous increase both in the profits of capital and in the wages of labour. Applying this test to the industrial progress of Scotland during the second half of the eighteenth century, we find that rentals increased four, five, and even eight-fold between 1760 and 1790, the money wages of labourers was more than doubled during the same period, and, if the improvement in food, clothing, housing, and all the amenities of life be taken into account, the increase of wages was not much less in proportion than the increase of rentals.

Unfortunately all the changes were not improvements. With the increase of money and commercial and industrial prosperity there came also a greater thirst for gain, more of the utilitarian spirit, more selfishness and greed, and at the same time there came also a gradual disappearing of that kindly sympathy which existed between all classes of the community in the humble and homely days of old. This was the case more especially in the Highlands, where the economic relations between landlords and tenants became so strained that thousands of the best and most enterprising of the people emigrated to America. This tide of emigration, which is referred to elsewhere, appears to have been at its height about 1770. Nevertheless, the Highlands also shared, in various ways, in the general progress of the nation, and when we consider the increase of knowledge, the security of life and property, the improvement in domestic

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comfort, which belonged to the close of the eighteenth century, and still more to the close of the nineteenth century, as compared with the turbulent days of old, it will be no longer possible for us to say "that the former days were better than these."

CHAPTER IX

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

THE chief and almost the sole industry of Scotland at the time of the union was her agriculture which was carried on under conditions of the rudest and most primitive description. The low-lying lands, which to-day form some of the finest arable farms in the world, such as the Carse of Gowrie, were then mere marshy wastes, and the cultivated land consisted generally of small irregular patches on the treeless, windswept hill-side. As the soil in such a situation was invariably shallow and poor and the climate ungenial, the crops frequently failed and years of destitution and famine were of common occurrence.

The "run-rig" system on which the land was universally worked was an obstacle both to individual enterprise and to progress of every kind. The farm was held in common by a number of tenants, whose cottages, usually grouped together in one place, formed what was called a town or township. The fields were divided into "riggs" or ridges varying in width from twenty to forty feet, and the whole farm was worked by the tenants in common, but the land was yearly divided anew among them in ridges by lot. One portion of the arable land, which was called the "in-field," was under constant cultivation until it became so exhausted that its yield was often not more than two or three times the quantity of corn sown in it. Another and much

larger portion, which was called the "out-field," was sown with corn for two or three years in succession and then allowed to lie fallow for five or six years under natural grass, on which the sheep, cattle, and horses belonging to the various tenants grazed together, watched by a herd who kept them away from the unenclosed in-field until the harvest was gathered in and they were allowed to graze over the whole of the farm.

Among the tenants themselves there were constant quarrellings and misunderstandings. As neither spring work nor harvest work could go on without the combined help of all, it was sometimes difficult to fix upon a day for making a beginning, so that valuable time was thus frequently wasted and the work thrown behind. If any man attempted any change or innovation he was looked upon as infringing on the rights of his neighbours, and, besides, he had little or no inducement to attempt any improvement on his own account, as he never knew what ridges might fall to his lot from one year to another. Individual enterprise found no encouragement under such a system, but the people were well pleased with it, for the quarrels and feuds which so often broke out among them were kept within safe limits by a sense of their own common interest, and they feared neither eviction nor excessive rent from the landlord, who thought less of money than of the ties by which his people were personally bound to him. One advantage of the "run-rig" system was that it prevented subdivision of the land.

The soil was usually tilled by means of a huge, unwieldy wooden plough with the share and coulter made of iron. To this clumsy structure was yoked any number of horses or oxen up to about a dozen, attended



SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.

by quite a company of men, to hold the plough, to guide the team, and to urge them by goading, shouting, and whistling tunes to them. In places where the arable plots were small and irregular, especially in the Highlands, the ground was tilled by hand labour with a particular kind of spade made for the purpose. The crops consisted of a constant succession of oats or barley, with perhaps in some places a little flax. The grain most commonly cultivated were grey oats and the barley called bere, each the poorest of its kind, but they were believed to be the only kind of grain that would grow in the poor soil and unfavourable climate of Scotland.

The cattle and the sheep were all of a poor and diminutive breed. During the winter months they were shut in, in the belief that they could not stand exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and when fodder ran short they had to be fed on such makeshifts as were available, very often on chipped whins which contained barely enough of nourishment to keep them alive. In springtime the cattle were bled, in the belief that they would thrive better for it when turned out to the pasture, the blood being carefully kept and cooked into dainty fare for the farmer's household. When the time came to turn them out they were often so weak that the neighbours had to be invited to help in lifting them on their legs and leading them out to the grass. This was called the "lifting" of the cattle, and though it was a work that may seem to us now to savour largely of the painful and pathetic, yet to the Scottish rustic of old it was an occasion of joy and gladness, for it was a sign that gloomy winter had passed away and that the delights of summer were at hand. During the months

of June and July it was customary, especially in the Highlands, to move the cattle from the lower pastures to shealings on the upper moorlands. A number of people went along with the cattle as herds and dairy-maids, and huts were erected for shelter and sleeping accommodation. In fine summer weather life under such circumstances would not be unpleasant, and in Gaelic song the season of the shealing is often described as a time of much enjoyment.

The rent of the land was paid chiefly in kind, so many cattle, so many sheep, so many fowls and eggs, so much corn, butter, and cheese, which had all to be conveyed to the laird's "girnals" or granaries. The minister also had his granary for storing his teinds or tithes. The result was often that, while quite destitute of money, the laird had stores of provisions which he could not use himself and for which it was not always possible to find a market. He was therefore glad to use up a large portion of his substance on profuse and wasteful hospitality. The tenants had also to give him so many days' work a year, and as this work was often claimed in seed time and in harvest, when the tenants were busy with their own work, it was felt to be a very real grievance and was sometimes strongly resented.

One of the farmer's chief and most real grievances was the law with regard to the estate mill. There he had to take all his grain to be ground and the miller claimed about a tenth part of it as his own due. This he had to pay to the miller, on all his grain except what was reserved for seed, whether he had it ground or not. If he sold any of his grain unground he was liable to be prosecuted for defrauding the miller of his due. The tenants had also to keep the mill and everything con-

nected with it in repair. If the miller was very busy, or the mill out of repair, or if there was neither water nor wind to drive it, the farmer's grain might have to lie there for weeks, perhaps to be destroyed in the end by vermin, while his household was starving for want of bread, but in any case the miller always claimed his own full share. These iniquitous restrictions continued in many parts of the country until the nineteenth century. In some places, and especially in the islands and outlying districts of the Highlands, the quern or ancient hand-mill continued in use until within living memory. The corn was cut with sickles, it was threshed with flails, and winnowed by hand riddles in the open air, generally on a slight eminence where the wind blew steadily, and which was usually known as a "shilling hill."

It was not until about the middle of the century that these conditions began to undergo change and improvement, as a result of the general progress of the age. Most improvements were at first opposed by the farmers themselves, as was the case when fanners were introduced from Holland into East Lothian in 1710. Some religious extremists objected to the use of artificially produced wind, which they called devil's wind, and it was many years before fanners came into general use. In 1719 an Act was passed ordering every able-bodied man in every district to give six days' work a year to the making and improving of roads, but it was ignored by the people and the roads remained in their primitive condition until 1751, when the Turnpike Road Act assessed both proprietors and farmers for the making and maintaining of proper roads in all parts of the country.

In the early part of the century farms and fields were entirely without any kind of enclosure. It was about 1715 that enterprising lairds first began to enclose their lands, but their efforts were met with persistent opposition by the farmers, who objected to have their cattle shut in to their own ground, and feared a raising of the rent, and by the labourers who were afraid of losing their occupation as herds. In 1725 the people of Gallo-way rose in such force to destroy all enclosures that the military had to be employed to suppress them, and the popular feeling throughout the whole country was felt to be so strong against these innovations that they had practically to be discontinued for a number of years.

Early in the century some lairds began to plant trees on their estates, and by the middle of the century tree-planting had become common throughout the whole of Scotland. The farmers and the common people objected to trees as much as they did to enclosures. The roots were supposed to impoverish the soil, the branches intercepted the light and nourishing warmth of the sun, and harboured birds to devour the corn. Thus it frequently happened that, in their prejudiced dislike of trees and hedges, the people of a district assembled under cover of the darkness of night and destroyed a whole plantation on which the laird had spent so much money and so many years of anxious care and watchfulness. Nevertheless the lairds continued their tree-planting with praiseworthy perseverance, and by degrees all opposition ceased as farmers began to realise the beneficial effects of trees upon soil and climate alike. Potato and turnip cultivation encountered a similar opposition when first attempted, but the former became

general between 1740 and 1750 and the latter at a somewhat later date.

The settlement which followed the Battle of Culloden gave the farmer a greater sense of security in various ways and so had the effect of stimulating his industry, while the nobles, as already stated, devoted the money received as compensation for the loss of their hereditary jurisdiction to the development of their estates and the encouragement of agriculture. In their eagerness to teach the people how to make the best use of the soil they brought ploughmen from England to instruct them in English ways of cultivation, and although methods which proved eminently successful in the more genial climate of the south of England did not always succeed in Scotland, yet the results, on the whole, were highly satisfactory, for the Scottish farmers not only learned what the English ploughman was able to teach them, but so greatly improved on it that before the end of the century they in their turn were being invited to teach English farmers the superior husbandry of Scotland.

As far back as 1727 Duncan Forbes of Culloden let lands belonging to the Duke of Argyll to crofters on leases of nineteen years. Leases were occasionally granted by other proprietors after the middle of the century, and in 1770 an Act was passed by the Lord Advocate, Sir James Montgomery, known as the Montgomery Act, which permitted the owner of an entailed estate to grant leases of farms for nineteen years, and building leases for ninety-nine years, and to burden the estate with the cost of building, enclosing, draining, planting, and other permanent improvements. The improved condition in which this Act placed the

relations between farmer and laird was not the least important cause of the remarkable progress made by Scottish agriculture during the last quarter of the century. Further legislation to amend the law of entail followed from time to time, the last being in 1882, and the owner of an entailed estate can now burden it with provisions for his widow and younger children and disentail it by making certain payments to his next heir.

Meantime great improvement was being made in agricultural machinery. In 1750 John Small of Dalkeith invented the swing plough requiring only two horses to pull it and one man to manage it. This is practically the form of plough that has been used ever since. A rude threshing mill was invented by Michael Menzies in Edinburgh about 1732, but it did not come into use, and it was not until 1787 that Andrew Meikle, a millwright near Dunbar, succeeded, after many experiments, in completing a satisfactory machine, which was soon adopted by the larger farmers all over the country. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century the sickle or reaping-hook gave place in most parts of the country to the scythe, which in its turn gave place to the reaping machine, an early form of which was invented in 1827 by the Rev. Patrick Bell, afterwards minister of Carmylie, Forfarshire. Reaping machines, however, did not come much into use before the middle of the century. Thus by the beginning of the nineteenth century the enterprise, perseverance, and skill of the Scottish lairds and farmers had raised the agriculture of their country to as high a degree of perfection as could be found in any part of the world. It is but fair to add, however, that all improvements in agriculture were commenced in the first instance by the

proprietors, and never by the tenants, who invariably opposed every change forced upon them, until time proved the wisdom and profitableness of it. The miserable run-rig system could have been abolished only by the strong authority of ownership.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the chief industry of the Highlands was the rearing of black cattle, for which there was a large demand in England, and at the yearly fair which was held at Crieff thousands were bought, often at a very poor price, by English dealers. But about the middle of the century it was found that sheep farming would pay better, and landlords began between 1760 and 1780 to clear the smaller tenants away in order to form large sheep farms, which by 1815 had become universal all over the Highlands. These farms were frequently taken by speculators from the south of Scotland. The breed of sheep at the same time was greatly improved and sheep farming became a flourishing industry. The value of land soon increased many-fold; rents rose and so also did wages. According to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, in Caithness, who did more than perhaps any other man of his generation to develop the resources of the Highlands and to stimulate the industry of the people, the yearly value of the produce exported from the Highlands before the introduction of sheep farming was only about £300,000. Before long the export of mutton alone was valued at £600,000, while that of wool was valued at £900,000, which when manufactured represented a value of about £3,000,000. But this increase of prosperity and wealth was not without its corresponding disadvantages. The smaller tenants and crofters were being driven out of their old homes, and so bitterly were these "clearances"

felt and resented that in 1792 the people of the east side of Ross-shire assembled together to drive the sheep out of the county, and soldiers from Fort George had to be employed to disperse them. In the south the people usually flocked with their families into the towns where growing manufactures supplied work, but in the Highlands they migrated in large numbers to America. The alarm caused by this exodus of the population from the Highlands has been already referred to.

The peace after the Battle of Waterloo was followed by a depression in sheep farming, and in the second quarter of the century sheep farms began to be converted into deer forests. It is not right, however, to suppose that there were no deer forests in the Highlands before then. Deer forests had always been common in the Highlands and there were many of them even when sheep farming was at its height, but about this time the number was largely increased, not only because of the decline in sheep farming, but also because of the enormous rent which wealthy noblemen were ready to pay for them. Most of the Highland moors and mountains have now been converted into deer forests, and though opinions may, and do, differ keenly as to the desirableness of these changes, yet it cannot be denied that the deer forests bring a large amount of money into the Highlands, where there are extensive tracts of waste mountain and moorland unfit for any other purpose.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century many of the people of the west coast and the Hebrides were profitably employed in manufacturing kelp from seaweed, the soda obtained from kelp being then largely used in soap-making. But the repeal of the salt tax in

1823 made it possible to obtain soda much more cheaply from salt, and so the kelp industry was ruined. While this industry flourished agriculture and fishing were neglected and emigration was discouraged. The failure of it was followed in the west Highlands and in the Hebrides by a period of great distress, which culminated after the failure of the potato crop of 1846 in a great famine. Landlords and people alike were now greatly impoverished. Many Highland estates came into the market, and emigration was forced upon the people in order once more to prepare larger holdings for Lowland and English farmers who brought capital and improved methods into the country.

In dealing with the state of things now prevailing in the Highlands no doubt many serious mistakes were made, largely as the result of ignorance of economic laws. The decay of the feudal system was followed everywhere all over Europe by serious mistakes on the part of those in authority, with grievous suffering on the part of the people, and there came no greater evils upon the Highlands than had come at an earlier date upon the Lowlands and at a still earlier date on England, but in the Lowlands and in England those evils have long been forgotten in the eager desire of practical men to keep abreast of modern ideas and of the times in which they lived. In the Highlands, however, the feudal system practically lingered until the defeat of the clans at Culloden. The evils following the change are therefore of more recent date, but the sooner they are forgotten the better for the well-being and happiness of the people. No good purpose can be served by a morbid brooding over the mistakes and misfortunes of the past. No nation, no people, ever become great by harping on their grievances.

The conditions on which the smaller holdings are occupied in the Highlands were made somewhat more favourable to the tenants by the Crofters Act of 1886, the effects of which can already be seen in the better houses which are being built in every crofter district, as well as in the improving amenities of all crofter surroundings.

Apart from her agriculture the other industries of Scotland at the time of the union were of very little importance. Glasgow was a small town of less than thirteen thousand inhabitants with a meagre trade in salt fish, coarse woollen cloth, and ropes. Aberdeen, Stirling, and Musselburgh produced woollen fabrics and Dunfermline manufactured linen. Inverness was a collection of mere huts, where a little local trade was done at fairs. The whole foreign trade of the country was carried on by means of about ninety small vessels, which had to be built abroad as there was no timber to be had at home. Great efforts were made to foster and develop the woollen industry from the beginnings which already existed. There was a law forbidding the exportation of unmanufactured wool, and one of the last acts of the Scottish Parliament was a law requiring all bodies to be buried in a winding sheet of woollen cloth; but the first thing to give a stimulus to the industry and trade of the country was the free opening of the English and colonial markets to Scottish enterprise by the Act of Union. With these new facilities for obtaining a market, and as a result of the easy supply of excellent wool obtained from the Cheviot sheep of the south-eastern counties, the woollen industry soon became important in the valley of the Tweed. The well-known cloth called "tweed" was not so named, however, after

the river. Its original name was tweel, and it is said to have been first called tweed as the result of a clerical error, a name which has somewhat appropriately been retained.

Linen manufacture was commenced in Glasgow about 1725, and a year or two afterwards some of the leading nobles and merchants of the country formed themselves into a society for promoting and fostering all branches of the linen trade. In a few years, however, they began to restrict their business to lending money for the promotion of manufacture and commerce, and in 1747 they formed themselves into the British Linen Banking Company. The Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695 and was afterwards patronised more especially by the whigs, while the Royal Bank, founded in 1727 by the holders of the equivalent stock, was favoured by the tories. The great London bank known as Coutts's was founded first in Edinburgh, about the same time as the Royal Bank, by John Coutts & Co., merchants, who in addition to their mercantile business lent money and discounted bills. Branch banks began to be opened in the country about 1760. It was also about 1725 that Mrs. Shaw, of Bargarran in Renfrewshire, and her daughters started the manufacture of sewing thread in Paisley, which soon became a great and important industry. About the same time another lady, Mrs. Henry Fletcher, set up the manufacture of fine Holland linen on her husband's farm in East Lothian. Thus the manufacture of linen soon became an important national industry and raw material had to be imported from the Baltic, as the home farmers were no longer able to produce a supply sufficient for the increasing demand.

But the national progress was not limited to these great industries. Articles which formerly had to be imported from abroad, such as coaches, fine furniture, and various articles of luxury, were now manufactured at home. Home resources also, such as slate and granite quarries, began to be worked, and between 1740 and 1780 the latter was coming into use as a house building material in Aberdeen. About 1760 carpets were coming into use, and at Kilmarnock the manufacture of that article began to take the place of that of blue bonnets.

In 1776 David Dale, in company with Sir Richard Arkwright, whose spinning frame was used, began the manufacture of cotton in Lanark, an industry which in a few years assumed gigantic proportions in Lanarkshire and the neighbouring counties, and created such a demand for workmen that the wages of labour rose all over the country.

In 1760 the Carron Iron Works, near Falkirk, were founded, which also proved the starting point of another great national industry, and became famous for the manufacture of a kind of ordnance called "Carronades." One of the most far-reaching events of the eighteenth century in its influence on the industry and commerce of the world was the series of improvements in the steam engine commenced by James Watt in 1769. As a result of these improvements the use of the steam engine in factories and for heavy traction became more and more general, and in 1812 the first British passenger steamboat was launched on the Clyde by Henry Bell. It was called the *Comet* and plied between Glasgow and Greenock. Among other Scottish inventions that helped to develop the iron industry may be mentioned

the hot-blast furnace invented by John Beaumont Neilson about 1828 and the steam hammer invented by James Nasmyth about 1838.

To facilitate trade between Edinburgh and Glasgow the Forth and Clyde Canal was commenced in 1768 and opened in 1778. The Monkland branch of it was not completed until 1790. The Crinan Canal in Argyllshire was made between 1793 and 1801, and the Caledonian Canal was commenced in 1803 and completed in 1822 by the great engineer Thomas Telford, who about the same period constructed throughout Scotland more than a thousand miles of road and twelve hundred bridges, besides harbours, churches, manses, etc. Wade's roads were made largely with a view to military requirements and they connected only a few of the more important places, but Telford's roads established communication with all parts of the Highlands. To keep these communications open many bridges were necessary, the more important being the Bridge of Dunkeld over the Tay, which was finished in 1809 and opened up the central Highlands, the bridge over the Beauly, which was finished in 1817 and established communications between Inverness and the north, a bridge over the Dee at Ballater, over the Don at Alford, and over the Spey at Craigellachie. Stage coaches began to run northwards from Perth to Inverness about 1808, and by 1820 no fewer than forty coaches a week started from Inverness to all parts of the Highlands. Telford's works proved of immense benefit to the Highlands, not only by opening up the country, but by providing employment for the people, many hundreds of whom were changed from useless idlers into good and useful workmen.

About 1760 a stage coach travelled from Edinburgh to London once a month and took fifteen days to complete the journey. By 1780 there were fifteen coaches a week running on the same route and making the journey in four days. It was not until 1788 that a stage coach began to run direct from Glasgow to London. In 1749 a stage coach began to run between Edinburgh and Glasgow. It travelled twice a week and accomplished the journey of forty-six miles in twelve hours. By the end of the century the number of coaches on this route was greatly increased and the journey was accomplished in six hours. On this rate of speed there was no great improvement until the two cities were connected by railway in 1842.

The first railway in Scotland was made between Monklands, in Lanarkshire, and Kirkintilloch, in Dumbartonshire, in 1826, the year after the opening of George Stephenson's railway between Stockton and Darlington. This was the beginning of the railways of Scotland, and the progress made during the next few years was somewhat slow. A railway was made between Dundee and Newtyle in 1831 and between Arbroath and Forfar in 1839. The following decade, from 1840 to 1850, saw the foundation of most of the great railway companies of Scotland, and in the vast work of railway construction, which formed one of the chief features of British enterprise and industry about the middle of the nineteenth century, Scotland took her full share.

With all this progress at home the growth of the colonial and foreign trade of the country kept steady pace. The Act of Union did away with the old English navigation laws, which prohibited Scotland as a foreign country from trading with India and the English

colonies, and the citizens of Glasgow were not slow to take advantage of this relief. Thus it was in Glasgow that the commercial prosperity of Scotland first began, and the example of enterprise set by Glasgow, modified more or less by local circumstances, was gradually followed by various other towns throughout the country. At the time of the union Glasgow possessed only about a dozen ships, and it was not until 1718 that a ship belonging to Glasgow first crossed the Atlantic. A steady increase of shipping followed, and so large a share of the Virginian tobacco trade fell into the hands of the merchants of Glasgow that the "tobacco lords," as these merchants were called, soon became the wealthiest men in Scotland. But the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1775 brought disaster and ruin and many of the tobacco lords sank into obscurity. The enterprise of Glasgow, however, was not to be suppressed by a single failure and the place of tobacco was soon taken by other trades. The sugar trade with the West Indies, the cotton trade, and other industries brought renewed and enlarged prosperity. Glasgow steadily continued to increase and to flourish in its industries, commerce, and wealth, and is now the second city of the great British Empire and one of the chief manufacturing and trading centres of the whole world.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

SCOTLAND has long enjoyed the reputation of being well educated, and there is perhaps no other country which owes so much to the schoolmaster. The revival of learning in the second half of the fifteenth century was taken up with keenness and intelligence in Scotland, and many of the leaders of the Church were eager to promote the spread of knowledge as the most hopeful means of remedying the ecclesiastical abuses which were only too apparent, and which caused the thoughtful much anxiety. James IV., who was well educated himself, was much interested in this movement, and as early as 1496 the Scots Parliament decreed that all men of competent means should provide their sons with a good education, for even then there were some good schools in Scotland. But such progress as had been made was arrested by the violence and confusion of the Reformation. The reformers, however, were anxious to continue the work already begun, and desired to see a school established in every parish, but so unsettled were the affairs of the nation at the time, and so great the resulting poverty, that a century passed away before any effective efforts could be made to put this plan into effect. Good schools, however, were gradually being established, and in 1696 Parliament enacted that a schoolmaster should be stationed in every parish and a rate levied on the heritors to provide the necessary

building and the schoolmaster's salary. This well-meant Act, however, was so persistently disregarded, largely because of the poverty of the country, the selfishness or indifference of the nobility, and the consequent difficulty of finding the necessary money, that at the middle of the eighteenth century there were whole districts in the south as well as in the Highlands without schools and large numbers of the people unable to read or write, but wherever schools existed the people showed a due appreciation of their value and took advantage of them.

The efforts made by the state were supplemented by various other agencies, more especially by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, incorporated in 1709, the object of which was to instruct children, more especially in the Highlands, in the principles of religion by teaching them to read the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. It was frequently from the Shorter Catechism that the child was first taught to read, and that was the reason why the catechism used to be published with the alphabet at the beginning of it and the multiplication table at the end, so that it might be used also for the teaching of arithmetic. As a reading book the catechism was usually followed by the Gospels and the Book of Proverbs. But in spite of all these efforts the educational progress of the common people continued to be slow, and at the commencement of the nineteenth century probably not more than half the adult population of the Highlands and other outlying districts could either read or write.

The buildings used as schoolrooms, especially in country districts and small villages, were frequently of the most wretched description. Sometimes the school

was held in the church, or in a barn, or some other available place of shelter, for though the heritors of every parish were enjoined by Act of Parliament to provide a commodious house for the school, yet it was often found impossible, in spite of the pleading of the kirk session, to make them do their duty. It is needless to say that in such circumstances the supply of school furniture was usually insignificant. Sometimes there were no desks at all and to do their writing the children had to lie down on the floor. Fuel was provided by the pupils themselves, each one of whom had to bring a peat to the school every morning during the winter months. This custom continued in some districts until the establishment of school boards. The method of lighting was equally primitive, and during the early decades of the nineteenth century unglazed windows were still common in outlying country districts. To these wretched places children trudged barefoot over long distances in all kinds of weather, carrying with them a meagre dinner of dry oat or barley cakes or perhaps only of boiled greens, to do the long and tedious day's lessons, and in many cases to work with an intelligence and energy which were but the beginning of an honourable and prosperous career through life. Nothing but a genuine love of knowledge and a deep appreciation of its importance could have produced attendance at school under such unattractive conditions, and the wonder is not that there were so many illiterates among the common people, but that so many of them succeeded in making their education a means of rising to positions of honour and distinction both at home and abroad. The experience of Scotland in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century shows that under any circumstances

people with a desire and capacity to acquire learning and culture will contrive to find means for doing so, while others and perhaps the majority will remain uncultured and ignorant, however perfect and tempting may be the facilities for education placed within their reach.

According to present day ideas the school hours were unreasonably long—from eight o'clock in the morning or even earlier until six in the evening during the summer months, and from sunrise to sunset in winter. There was an hour or perhaps two hours' interval at mid-day, and in course of time it became the rule to have a half-holiday on Saturday. In the towns there was a summer holiday varying from ten days to three weeks. Country schools broke up for the "harvest play" as soon as the corn was ripe, and the children gradually returned to school when the harvest was finished and their work on the farms was no longer required.

In such circumstances as these it can readily be understood that the lot of the schoolmaster was not always an enviable one. Often without a proper dwelling-house, for the heritors were not bound by the Act of 1696 to provide one, and unable to obtain his statutory income, which was sometimes less than the wages earned by a common labourer, he nevertheless honestly tried to fulfil his duties, supported by a sense of the dignity which his own learning gave him and of the importance of the work in which he was engaged. The small sum, varying from £5 to £10 a year, which formed his statutory salary, was sometimes eked out by various perquisites, such as the school fees, which were usually very small. Two or three times in the year the pupils

who could afford it brought small "gifts" of money, and once a year, usually at Easter, it was the custom until the beginning of the nineteenth century to hold a school cock-fight. Every boy who brought a cock had to pay an entrance fee to the schoolmaster, who also claimed as his own property every cock killed or beaten in the fight. In addition to his ordinary scholastic duties the schoolmaster usually acted as clerk to the kirk session, registrar for the parish, and precentor, but even with some remuneration for all these offices his gross yearly income was but a mere starvation wage.

In addition to the ordinary week-day attendance it was the duty of the schoolmaster, especially in towns and villages, to assemble his pupils at the school on Sunday, conduct them to the church, keep them in order while there, and afterwards assemble them again at the school after each service to be catechised on what they had heard at church. Nor did his duties end even there, for he had to see as far as possible that his pupils conducted themselves with due propriety and reverence for the rest of the day or at all events that they kept within doors. By the end of the eighteenth century many of these exacting customs had fallen into abeyance, but there are men still living who can well remember how much the restraining influence of the village schoolmaster, or "The Dominie" as he was familiarly called, was felt on Sunday by his own pupils.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the steady increase in the cost of living made the schoolmasters more keenly conscious of their poverty, and they made more than one attempt by petitions to the General Assembly and to Parliament to obtain some mitigation of their lot, but all in vain, until 1802, when

their grievances at last received some attention, and it was ordained by Act of Parliament that their income should not be under 300 merks (£16 13s. 4d. sterling) nor above 400 merks (£22 4s. 6d. sterling), and that the heritors should provide them with a house of not less than two rooms and a garden not less than a quarter of a Scots acre, or instead of a garden two bolls of oatmeal. It was in 1839 that the central government began its system of inspection and yearly grants of money to schools in Scotland, though small sums had been granted for providing school buildings as far back as 1832. Since then the income of the Scottish schoolmaster has steadily increased and his lot generally has undergone a marked improvement. The parish schools were examined once a year by the Presbytery, and these examinations continued until 1872, when Lord Young's Scottish Education Act put an end to the old schools and established the educational system which still obtains.

In addition to the parish schools there were also burgh or grammar schools, which were under the management of the town councils and usually prepared pupils for the universities. The curriculum included religion, English, Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics. Latin, however, was the chief of the secular subjects, and so well was it taught that when boys left about the age of fourteen they could read and write that language with tolerable accuracy. It was a common rule in burgh schools to allow nothing but Latin to be spoken either in the classroom or in the playground, and the effect of this rule was to give the boys such a practical mastery of the language as is rarely, if ever, met with among the schoolboys of to-day. "The

Schools Inquiry Commission," which visited Scotland in 1866, was impressed by the excellence of the Latin teaching and the intelligent keenness of the boys of the secondary schools. Even then Latin was much less of a dead language among schoolmasters and their pupils than it is now.

It was about the age of fourteen that boys left school and entered the university for a course which usually extended over four years, and as Latin was invariably the medium of instruction it can easily be understood how necessary it was that the youthful student should possess a sound and practical knowledge of that language. In the early decades of the eighteenth century the instruction at the universities was given by teachers who were called regents, each one of whom took charge of a class which he taught himself, session after session, in all the subjects that made up the four years' course of study, so that the student had only one teacher during the whole of the prescribed period of attendance. As the regular curriculum included such diverse subjects as Greek, metaphysics, ethics, logic, mathematics, etc., the regent could hardly be expected to be specially proficient in all that he had to teach. The instruction had therefore to be given by means of formal textbooks which neither stimulated nor encouraged independent thought, and in the early part of the century many young men of good family went to the Dutch universities for sound learning, especially in law and medicine. The regenting system was given up first in Edinburgh about 1708, when special professors began to be appointed for the various subjects that formed the curriculum. Similar changes gradually followed in the other universities, and before the close

of the century the old system had passed entirely away and given place to the professorial system which still prevails. Almost side by side with the new system there came also another very important change. In 1729 Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow gave up Latin and began to lecture to his students in English. His example was gradually followed by some of the professors in the other universities, but lecturing in Latin was not entirely given up until towards the end of the eighteenth century. An important event in the history of the Scottish universities was the appointment of Dr. Alexander Monro as Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh in 1724. By his brilliant teaching students began to be attracted in large numbers from England, and the medical school of Edinburgh soon acquired a European reputation which it may be said to have still retained.

In the early part of the eighteenth century many of the students used to live in hostelries provided in the precincts of the college for their accommodation. There they were boarded and lodged at small fees, and were under the strict and constant surveillance of their regents or professors—a precaution which the tender age of the students rendered at least reasonable. But the rules were intolerably severe and among the students themselves this system of living was not at all popular. By the middle of the century it had largely fallen into disuse and the hostel chambers began to be let for other purposes. It was continued in St. Andrew's longer than at the other universities, but before the close of the eighteenth century the mode of living in lodgings, which still prevails at the Scottish universities, had become permanently established.

Of what we understand by scholarship there was very little, at this time, in the Scottish universities. The work done was in reality that of the secondary school, for the students were but mere boys to whose age and capacity such work was best adapted. Nevertheless, personal contact with some of the distinguished men who were to be found among the teachers, especially after the institution of the professoriate, had an important influence in forming the student's ideals and in shaping his character, while the teaching of the Scottish philosophy—a philosophy which may be said to have dealt with all human interests—helped to give life a meaning and a consistency which proved of priceless value in the national education.

The parish schools also did a great work for Scotland, and the extraordinary advancement of the country in all spheres of life during the eighteenth century can be traced very largely to the stimulating influence of the schoolmaster's humble and ill-paid efforts. The education provided was mainly religious, and had for one of its chief aims the formation of character and of a sense of the responsibilities of life. The progress made in learning by so many of the pupils, who afterwards carved out for themselves a successful and honourable career, was the result, not of the time or of the labour that the schoolmaster was able to devote to his teaching, nor of any attractiveness possessed by the circumstances and surroundings in which that teaching was imparted, but of the remarkable success with which he awoke the interest of his pupils in their work, and created among them the desire to pursue knowledge for its own sake. In all this good work a large share of the credit must be claimed on behalf of the Church, for the

schoolmaster's efforts were always heartily supported by the minister, who never missed an opportunity of impressing upon parents their responsibility for the careful upbringing of their children and the great importance of a good education.

CHAPTER XI

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND ART

THE union found the voice of Scottish song silent. The civil and religious strife of the preceding century was extremely unfavourable to literary culture, and even if literary works had been produced during the peace which followed the Revolution, Scotland was too poor to provide purchasers, while the language was unsuited for ordinary readers in England. The union not only made the material conditions more favourable, but, what was even of more importance as a stimulus to literary efforts, the discussions which arose in connection with it and the fear of absorption into England revived the patriotism of the nation. The result of this revival was first seen in collections of Scottish songs which were made at the time of the union and the years immediately following, and which may be regarded as the first starting point of modern Scottish literature.

There was at the same time a revival of interest in the literature of England and in the cultivation of literary style. In promoting this movement no one took a more prominent part than Thomas Ruddiman, a graduate of Aberdeen University, who began life as a schoolmaster at Laurencekirk, and in 1700 moved to Edinburgh, where he was appointed keeper of the Advocates' Library. In addition to his duties as librarian he set up a printing press, from which he issued

many learned and important books, including the Latin Grammar by which his name is best remembered. He also published the *Caledonian Mercury*, a Jacobite and tory newspaper founded about 1720, for Ruddiman was an ardent Jacobite and Episcopalian and spent much of his time in keen controversy with the whig Presbyterians, who sternly frowned on all who indulged in profane literature. Before Ruddiman's death, which occurred in 1757, a great change had come over the literary tastes and ideals of his countrymen.

The chief and most active worker in the revival of the vernacular literature was the poet Allan Ramsay. He was born among the Lead Hills in Lanarkshire in 1686 and at the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a wigmaker in Edinburgh. This business he followed for many years, but in 1726 he became a bookseller, and afterwards opened a circulating library, the first of its kind in Scotland. Meantime he had become known as a poet, and in 1721 had published a collection of his works. Many of these poems were satirical and humorous and soon passed into favour not only in Scotland but also among some of the foremost literary men in England. In 1724 appeared the first volume of his *Tea Table Miscellany*, a collection of songs, the fourth and last volume of which appeared in 1740. It was in 1725 that he published his best known work, *The Gentle Shepherd*, a pastoral comedy in which the country life of Scotland is idealised and the characters made to speak the homely Scots dialect. The success of this poem was very great, among those who admired it being the poet Pope, to whom his Scottish friend, Dr. Arbuthnot, read it and explained the dialect. For a poet Ramsay's career was a prosperous one. He died

in 1758, his son Allan having already become famous as an artist.

The heritage of native song preserved and amplified by Allan Ramsay was taken up by Robert Fergusson, who in his turn transferred it to the greater genius of Robert Burns. Robert Fergusson was born in Edinburgh in 1750, and was educated for the Church in St. Andrew's University. He began to write poetry at an early age, and all thoughts of the Church were soon abandoned. On his return to Edinburgh he received an appointment as a lawyer's clerk and continued to write poetry. His poems gained him a local reputation which proved his ruin by drawing him into the convivial excesses of the age, and his health soon became permanently injured. He died in 1774 at the age of twenty-four and was buried in the Canongate churchyard, where Burns afterwards placed a stone on his grave. Fergusson's poems are humorous and true descriptions of Scottish life and character in town and in country, and they gain a greater interest and fame from the admiration bestowed upon them by Burns, who was stimulated to the production of his own masterpieces by his study of Fergusson's works.

Robert Burns, the national poet of Scotland, and one of the greatest of all song writers, was born at Alloway, near Ayr, on January 25, 1759. His father was a small farmer, who in 1766 moved to Mount Oliphant, also near Ayr, and in 1777 to Lochlea, near Tarbolton, and died in 1784. Burns received as good an education as his circumstances could afford and became an eager reader of books from a very early age. At Lochlea he worked as a regular ploughman on his father's farm, but in 1781 was sent to Irvine to learn flax-dressing,

where he unfortunately made the acquaintance of loose sailors and smugglers and fell to some extent under their evil influences. The flax-spinning proved a failure and he was soon back again to Lochlea. On the death of their father, Robert Burns and his brother took the farm of Mossgiel, near Mauchline. It was in the same year, 1784, that he first read Robert Fergusson's poems, and it was during the next two years, at Mossgiel, that his genius shone forth at its brightest and that his best work was produced. But his farming at Mossgiel did not succeed and the unfortunate poet was soon overtaken by many troubles. He also got into difficulties with the " Old Lights " of his neighbourhood, as the ministers of the extreme puritanic party were called, though he had some friends among the " New Lights " or moderates. To escape from his troubles he prepared to emigrate to Jamaica, and in 1786 published his poems at Kilmarnock to raise money for the voyage. The success of the little volume was very great and his fame as a poet soon reached the literary circles of Edinburgh, whither, as he was on the eve of sailing to Jamaica, he received an invitation from the blind poet, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Blacklock. To Edinburgh he proceeded forthwith and there spent the winter of 1786-1787, moving with freedom and ease among the social and intellectual leaders of the capital and triumphantly holding his place with the best of them. A second edition of his poems appeared in 1787. His part in the farm of Mossgiel was now given up and, after spending a few months in visiting the Border country and the Highlands, he returned to Edinburgh for the winter, though not to the social triumphs of his former visit. In 1788 he married Jean Armour and took the farm of

Ellisland near Dumfries, where he settled down during a few months for what was perhaps the happiest period of his life, working with his men in the fields, holding family worship, and going to church on Sunday. But this peaceful and happy life did not last long, for his farming did not succeed, and to meet expenses he was glad to receive an appointment in the excise, which made it necessary for him to travel about the country and thus to become exposed once more to the old convivial temptations. For some time he combined the two occupations of farmer and exciseman, but in 1791 his farm stock was sold and he then moved with his family into the town of Dumfries. During the latter years of his life he contributed many songs to James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* and to George Thomson's *Collection of Scottish Songs and Airs*. The stories of the drunkenness and dissipation of these years were probably much exaggerated, but there was nevertheless a woful falling off in self-respect, and the closing scenes of his life were sad and pathetic. His health broke down, and with many unavailing regrets for the past, and much anxiety for the future of his family, he died at Dumfries on July 31, 1796. Over the faults and failings of the ruined life of Robert Burns merciful time is slowly drawing the veil of oblivion, leaving to the English-speaking world his noble heritage of song and to Scotland the proud memory of one of the world's greatest poets.

The Rev. John Skinner was also the author of some good Scottish songs. He was born at Birse, in Aberdeenshire, in 1721, was educated at Aberdeen, and was Episcopalian minister of Longside, near Peterhead, from 1742 until his death. His house was pillaged and his

chapel burnt by the Duke of Cumberland in 1746. He was a contributor to Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* and one of the correspondents of Robert Burns. He died in 1807 and his poems were collected and published in 1809, the best known among them being "Tullochgorm."

Another writer of delightful songs in the Scottish vernacular was Robert Tannahill, who was born at Paisley in 1774 and brought up as a handloom weaver. As a youth he became an ardent student of Burns and in 1807 published a volume of his own poems and songs, which include such favourites as "Gloomy winter's noo awa," "Jessie, the Flower of Dunblane," "The Bonnie Wood o' Craigielea." Shortly afterwards he fell into a state of despondency and was found drowned in a canal near Paisley in 1810.

Next to Burns perhaps the greatest of the peasant poets or writers of Scotland was James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd." He was born in the parish of Ettrick, in Selkirkshire, in 1770. He received little education and spent his youth as a shepherd, but his mother awoke in him at an early age a taste for the ballads and legends of his country and he became an ardent reader of poetry and romance. His first volume of poems was published in 1801, and about the same time he was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott, whom he assisted in collecting ballads for the *Minstrelsy of the Border*. He afterwards received the farm of Altrive, now Eldinehope, on the estate of the Duke of Buccleuch, at a nominal rent, but his management of it was not very successful. Here he died in 1835. Hogg produced many works in verse and in prose. One of his best known songs is "When the Kye comes home."

Among the Scottish writers who cultivated an English

style and so influenced the course of English literature in the eighteenth century the first place must be assigned to the poet Thomson. James Thomson was the son of a Roxburghshire minister and was born in 1700. He was educated at Edinburgh University for the Church, but, that plan having been abandoned, he removed to London in 1725 to try his fortune in literature, and in the following year published *Winter*, the first of his poems on the seasons. It was at once successful, and was followed by *Summer* in 1727, *Spring* in 1728, and *Autumn* in 1730. Among his patrons he had Frederick, Prince of Wales, who gave him a pension of £100. He also obtained the sinecure post of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands at a yearly salary of £300, and on this income he led a lazy bachelor life at Richmond, Surrey. He wrote several tragedies, but perhaps his finest work is *The Castle of Indolence*, published shortly before his death, which occurred at Richmond in 1748. The great merit of Thomson's work lies in the fact that he broke away from the artificial poetry of the time and brought English readers once more into contact with nature. In *Winter* he describes nature as he knew it in tempest and storm among the Roxburgh hills, but in the other seasons he describes the more genial rural life of the south of England. There were other men who abandoned the Scottish vernacular to carry a Scottish strain into the greater literature of England, but Thomson was by far the greatest of them and the one whose influence is most perceptible. He is the author of the well-known patriotic song "Rule, Britannia," though it was claimed also for David Mallet, one of Thomson's literary Scottish friends in London.

Of the many literary Scotsmen who settled in London during the eighteenth century, Tobias George Smollett, novelist, must rank next to Thomson in his influence on English literature, for no writer did more than he to establish what was then the new form of fiction, also a return to nature, in which the novelist describes his experiences of the life of his own times. Smollett was born at Dalquhurn, in Dumbartonshire, in 1721. He was educated at Glasgow University and was apprenticed to a surgeon. In 1739 he went to London with a tragedy, but failed to get it put on the stage. He then received the post of a naval surgeon's mate, and took part in an unfortunate expedition against the Spanish town of Cartagena in South America in 1741. In 1744 he started a medical practice in London, but apparently without much success. In 1746 he published anonymously a poem called *The Tears of Scotland*, expressing in fierce invective, though he was not a Jacobite, his indignation at the cruelties perpetrated by the Duke of Cumberland after the Battle of Culloden. In 1747 he married Anne Lascelles of Jamaica, who had an income of £300 a year, which saved him from poverty and gave him time to write. In 1755 he visited Scotland, where he spent a short but pleasant time with his mother, then living in Peeblesshire, and made the acquaintance of the chief literary men of Edinburgh. His life in London was one of incessant literary toil and many difficulties and much quarrelling, especially with the disreputable politician John Wilkes and the rakish poet Charles Churchill, both of whom were insolent and venomous in their incessant abuse of Scotland. At length his health began to break down. Another visit to Scotland to his aged mother,

now living in Edinburgh, restored him a little, but in 1770 he left London for Italy, relying on his wife's income, now somewhat uncertain however, and died near Leghorn in 1771. Smollett was a voluminous writer in various fields of literature. His chief novels are *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751), *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (1771), which is considered his best work, but he did not live to hear the praise with which it was received. He also wrote translations of *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas*, and a *History of England*, part of which was afterwards published as a continuation of Hume's history.

The eighteenth century closes with the commencement of the literary career of the Scottish poet Thomas Campbell, who was born in Glasgow in 1777 and educated at the university of that city. He travelled on the continent, and in 1803 he married and settled in London. His chief work is *The Pleasures of Hope*, published in 1799, which has become an established English classic, but he is best known by some of his shorter poems, such as "Ye Mariners of England" and "The Battle of the Baltic," which are remarkable for their easy language, martial spirit, and patriotic feeling. He died at Boulogne in 1844 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Of the literary men who made Edinburgh so famous about the middle of the eighteenth century none was greater, nor has exerted a wider influence on the course of modern thought, than the philosopher and historian David Hume. He was the younger son of the laird of Ninewells, in Berwickshire, and was born in Edinburgh on April 26, 1711. He was educated at Edinburgh

University and was intended for the law, but as legal studies were distasteful to him he was sent in 1734 to a merchant's office in Bristol, which he left before the end of the year. He then went to France, where he could live cheaply, and devoted himself to literature. After an absence of three years he returned to Ninewells, and in 1739 published his *Treatise on Human Nature*, which he had written in France and which is perhaps the best exposition of his philosophy. Though it fell "dead born from the press" and little or no notice was taken of it at the time, yet it was destined to exercise a far-reaching influence, for it gave the first impulse not only to Scottish philosophy but also to the German philosophy of Immanuel Kant. In 1745 he was for some time companion or keeper to the Marquis of Annandale who was weak in mind and body; next year he was appointed secretary of an expedition against France, and in the following year, 1747, took part in a military embassy to France and Turin. In 1751 he published his *Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, which contains a clear exposition of the principles of the utilitarian philosophy, and his *Political Discourses*, in which he sets forth the principle of free trade afterwards expounded by Adam Smith. In 1752 he was appointed keeper of the Advocates' Library, an appointment which placed all the best books of the day at his disposal. He now turned his attention to history and in 1754 he published his first volume of his *History of England from the Conquest to the Revolution*, which was completed in five volumes in 1761. Smollett's *History of England from the Revolution to the Death of George II.* is usually printed as a continuation of Hume's. In 1763 Hume went to Paris as secretary to the ambassador, the Earl

of Hertford, and remained there until 1766, when he returned to England, bringing with him Rousseau, on whom King George III. conferred a pension of £100 a year. But the morbid Frenchman fell into the delusion that Hume was acting as an agent of his enemies and returned in a fit of anger to France, after a stay of thirteen months in England. In 1767 Hume was made Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department and was now possessed both of ample means and of fame. He finally retired to Edinburgh in 1769 and there died unmarried on August 25, 1776. It is as a philosopher that Hume's reputation stands highest, though his philosophical writings do not form a system. He discussed the various philosophical schools of his own day in a sceptical and destructive manner and showed that the theories put forward with so much confidence were mere conjectures and could form no foundation for real knowledge. He thus compelled philosophers to take a new and a profounder view of human nature. He himself upheld the dignity of man and maintained that "the sentiments of those who are inclined to think favourably of mankind are much more advantageous to virtue than the contrary principles which give us a mean opinion of our nature." Among historians Hume occupies a high place. He had the power of estimating every kind of historical evidence, could grasp the views of contending parties with great clearness and always presented them with impartiality and fairness. His style is easy and polished, his narrative admirably clear and lucid, and he has always the most perfect mastery of his own ideas. His countrymen branded Hume as an infidel, and the enemies of religion have usually been allowed to claim him as

their own, but there was nothing in his life to support such claims. He lived on terms of the most intimate friendship with the most enlightened and most highly respected Scottish ministers of his time. He was a church-goer and showed constant deference to the dictates of revealed religion. Those who knew him best saw many symptoms of religious feeling in his life, and he himself keenly resented being called an atheist or a deist. Personally Hume had every quality that could attract friends and make his society agreeable. He was generous, cheerful, and sympathetic. His conversation was interesting and humorous, and in the best society of his native city he was the best liked man of his time.

Of the Scottish philosophers who followed David Hume the greatest was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Reid, author of the "Common Sense" philosophy. He was born at Strachan Manse, Kincardineshire, in 1710, educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and in 1737 he became minister of New Machar in Aberdeenshire. In 1752 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen, and in 1763 Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow. He retired in 1780 and died in Glasgow in 1796. It was after reading Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature* that Reid resolved to seek for philosophy a new foundation on which to raise it out of the state of scepticism in which Hume had placed it. The result was his *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, which was published in 1764. In this work Reid sought to vindicate the fundamental laws of belief and to place truth on an unassailable foundation by maintaining that the mind's perception of an external world, of free will, and of causation is valid and real, and that the reasonings and speculations

of philosophy are futile against the *common sense*, that is to say, the intuitive belief of man in the reality of these things. As an interesting and pleasing illustration of the manner and spirit in which these Scottish philosophers conducted their controversies it may be mentioned that before publishing this work, Reid, through his friend the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, submitted the manuscript to Hume's inspection in order that any misstatements about Hume's own position might be corrected. No other system of philosophy has taken such deep hold of the British mind as Reid's common-sense philosophy, and it is on the principles which form its foundations that Tennyson bases the religious teaching of his great poem the *In Memoriam*.

Next to Reid must be mentioned Adam Smith, philosopher and political economist, who was born at Kirkcaldy in 1723. He was educated at Glasgow and at Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1751 was appointed Professor of Logic in Glasgow University, a post which he gave up in 1763 to travel on the continent with the young Duke of Buccleuch. After travelling for three years he returned to Scotland in 1766 and went to live with his mother at Kirkcaldy. In 1776 he removed to London, but in 1778 he returned as Commissioner of Customs to Edinburgh, where he died in 1790. Smith's chief work was his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which was published in 1776 and in which he expounded the doctrine of free trade and other principles of the modern science of political economy.

The other chief philosophical writers of this period were Francis Hutcheson, Lord Kames, Adam Ferguson, James Beattie, and Dugald Stewart, all of them essen-

tially Scottish in character and in sympathy. With these, though differing from them in several respects, may be included Sir William Hamilton.

Of the historians who followed Hume the most noted was the Rev. Dr. William Robertson. He was born at Borthwick Manse, Midlothian, in 1721 and educated at Edinburgh University. From 1761 until his death he was joint minister of the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, having for his colleague the Rev. Dr. John Erskine, leader of the evangelical party in the General Assembly of the Church, while Robertson himself was leader of the moderate party. In 1762 Robertson was appointed Principal of Edinburgh University, and it was through his exertions, continued during many weary years, that the erection of the new university buildings was at last commenced in 1789. But it is as a historian that Robertson is best known. His chief works were a *History of Scotland*, published in 1759, which was a great success, and a *History of Charles V.* in 1769, for which he received high praise both from Voltaire and from Gibbon. He died in 1793.

The other principal Scottish writers of history in the eighteenth century were William Tytler, Robert Henry, Adam Ferguson, and Lord Hailes, and in the nineteenth century, Patrick Fraser Tytler, Sir Archibald Alison, John Hill Burton, Thomas Carlyle, and William Forbes Skene.

Among the religious writers of Scotland during this period may be mentioned the Rev. Thomas Boston, who was born at Duns, in Berwickshire, in 1676 and educated at Edinburgh University. He became minister of Ettrick, in Selkirkshire, in 1707, and there died in 1732. His chief work was the *Fourfold State of Man*, published in 1720, in which he discourses about the state of perfect

integrity before the fall of Adam, the state of total depravity and sin as the result of the fall, the state of recovery commenced on earth, and the state of eternal happiness or misery after death. This book was for many generations the recognised exposition of the extreme Calvinistic theology of Scotland. Boston left an extremely interesting *Autobiography* which was published in 1776. Another writer of an interesting and valuable autobiography was the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, whose imposing presence earned for him the name of "Jupiter Carlyle." He was born at Cummertrees Manse, Dumfriesshire, in 1722, educated at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Leyden, and was minister of Inveresk, in Midlothian, from 1748 until his death in 1805. He was one of the leaders of the moderate party in the Church and the friend of the chief literary men of his time. His *Autobiography* was first published in 1860. But perhaps the best known religious writer in Scotland in the eighteenth century was the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, another prominent member of the moderate party. He was born in Edinburgh in 1730 and educated at the university. He became one of the ministers of the High Church, Edinburgh, in 1758, and was also Professor of Rhetoric at the university from 1762 to 1783. His sermons, first published in 1777, gained a great reputation and were not only widely read in England as well as in Scotland, but were translated into most of the languages of Europe. They were praised by Dr. Samuel Johnson and also by George III., who conferred on the author a substantial pension. Blair died in 1800. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers was a voluminous writer on various subjects such as science, social economy, and theology.

One of the most interesting literary events of the second half of the eighteenth century was the controversy that arose with regard to the genuineness of Macpherson's *Ossian*. This work, which was published in 1762, claimed to be an English translation of some traditional Gaelic poems by Ossian, who flourished in the third century. The general verdict now is that these so-called translations are largely Macpherson's own invention and that they owed their great success to the reproduction in a new form of gloomy tendencies of thought which were fashionable at the time.

But the most versatile and truly national genius of Scotland was Sir Walter Scott. He was born in Edinburgh on August 15, 1771, and was connected with the noblest and most historical families of the south of Scotland. When only eighteen months old he had an illness which impaired the use of his right leg and left him lame for life. He spent part of his childhood on his grandfather's farm at Sandyknowe on the Tweed, and became interested at an early age in the legends and ballads of the Border country. He was educated at the High School, Edinburgh, and afterwards at the university, but in neither was he distinguished as a student. In 1785 he began the study of law with his father, who was a Writer to the Signet. He worked well and in 1792 was admitted an advocate. When Burns was in Edinburgh in the winter of 1786-1787 Scott had one meeting with him in the house of Professor Adam Ferguson. As a young man Scott made many journeys in the Borderland and in the Highlands, continually adding to his store of ballad and legendary lore and observing character among all classes of the people. In 1797 he married Miss Charlotte Margaret Charpentier,

the daughter of a French refugee, by whom he had a family of two daughters. In 1799 he received the appointment of sheriff of Selkirkshire, and in 1806 he became one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session and retired from the bar. His first publication was a translation of some German ballads in 1796. In 1802 appeared the first two volumes of *The Border Minstrelsy*, and in 1805 *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which at once established his fame as a poet. *Marmion* followed in 1808, and in *The Lady of the Lake*, published in 1810, his poetic genius achieved its greatest triumph. In 1811 he purchased a farm on the banks of the Tweed three miles above Melrose and began to change the house, which was small and inconvenient, into the mansion of Abbotsford. Other poems followed *The Lady of the Lake*, but were not so successful as his former ones had been. He then began to turn his attention to fiction and the second great epoch of his literary career began with the publication of *Waverley* in 1814, which was followed in quick succession by *Guy Mannering*, *The Antiquary*, *The Black Dwarf*, *Old Mortality*, *Rob Roy*, and *The Heart of Midlothian*. These works were published anonymously, but the public gradually began to suspect that Scott was the "Great Unknown," as the author was often spoken of. His literary labours, however, were not confined to the novels which he produced in such rapid succession. He was secretly in partnership with Ballantyne & Co., his printers, and had connections also with Constable & Co., the Edinburgh publishers, so that he had to do with many publications either as author or editor. He nevertheless took an active interest in public affairs, never neglected the duties of his official appointments, and found time to

entertain the guests who came to partake of his generous hospitality at Abbotsford. In 1820 he was made a baronet by George IV. and had now reached the height of his fame and outward prosperity. But in 1826 the firms of Constable & Co. and also of Ballantyne & Co. both failed and Scott became liable for a sum of more than £130,000. A few months afterwards he lost his wife. Scott met these crushing misfortunes with the most heroic fortitude. The remaining years of his life were years of incessant toil and failing health. Every moment that could be spared from his official duties was given to literary work. Book after book was produced in quick succession, and the debt was finally cleared, though not before his death, which occurred at Abbotsford on September 21, 1832.

Scott was in the best sense of the word a great man. He was sagacious, far-seeing, and fair-minded in all affairs relating to Scotland and to the British Empire at large. He disliked the arrogant whigs of Edinburgh, with their floutings at Scottish prejudices and characteristics and their constant assertions that the power of England was on the wane. His own toryism was largely the outcome of his desire to preserve what was best in the traditions of his country and in the character of his race. His political heroes were Pitt and Dundas, and strongly Scottish and patriotic as he was himself, no one appreciated more fully than he did the great qualities of the people of the sister kingdom of England or believed more hopefully in the high destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. He was a man of pure life, generous, tolerant, and large-minded, and with wide religious sympathies, for though he was himself an Episcopalian he fully appreciated what was best and most enlightened

in the Presbyterianism of his countrymen. His writings are wholesome for all readers, and there is nothing in the life or character of Scotsmen or in the scenery and history of their country which he does not set forth in the healthiest and most attractive light. It is, in fact, from his *Tales of a Grandfather*, more than from any other book, that most readers for nearly a century have obtained their ideas of Scottish history. For the pure essence of poetry he did not possess the genius of Burns, but in the power of creating new and real characters he must be ranked next to Shakespeare. It would be unnecessary to give a complete list of his numerous works; the best of them are well known and easily accessible to all readers. They have been translated into many languages and are widely read over the whole of Europe.

It would not be possible to give an exhaustive account of all the noted Scottish writers who have flourished since the union, but the following additional names may be mentioned: the Rev. Robert Wodrow, Scottish Church historian; the Rev. Robert Blair, author of "The Grave"; Mrs. Alison Cockburn, authoress of a version of "The Flowers of the Forest"; Lord Monboddo; William Falconer, sailor, author of a poem called "The Shipwreck"; James Boswell, author of the *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, which is admitted to be the best biography in the English language; Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*; Lady Anne Barnard, authoress of "Auld Robin Gray"; Lady Nairne, authoress of "The Land of the Leal," "Caller Herrin'," "The Laird o' Cockpen," etc.; Lord Jeffrey; John Galt, novelist; Allan Cunningham, poet; the Rev. Dr. Horatius Bonar, hymn writer; James Grant, novelist, and others.

In the literary activity of Scotland during this period the Highlands also had their share, and there was a remarkable outburst of Gaelic song during the second half of the eighteenth century. There are specimens of the Gaelic poetry of the Revolution period preserved in what is known as the *Fernaig Manuscript*, a collection of poems made about 1693 by Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, in Kintail, Ross-shire. These poems are mainly religious and political, and they are valuable as setting forth in a true and reliable light what must have been the prevailing views of the best Highlanders during the period which ended with the Battle of Culloden. They are Jacobite and Episcopalian. They show a clear and intelligent grasp of the great questions of the time; their teaching is thoroughly practical, and they display a devout and tolerant spirit which is altogether pleasant to contemplate, and show that the state of religious feeling and practice in the Highlands then was very different from the heathenism alleged by some of the early Presbyterian ministers.

Of the Gaelic poets who flourished in the middle and second half of the eighteenth century the chief place must be assigned to Duncan Macintyre, commonly called Duncan Bane (Duncan the Fair). He was born at Glenorchy, in Argyllshire, in 1724. His first recorded poem was composed in 1746 on the Battle of Falkirk, in which he fought apparently with some reluctance on the royalist side, his last in 1802, so that his literary activity covers a period of over half a century, but a great many of his poems have undoubtedly been lost. Those preserved were taken down from his own recitation in his old age, and even they are probably not so

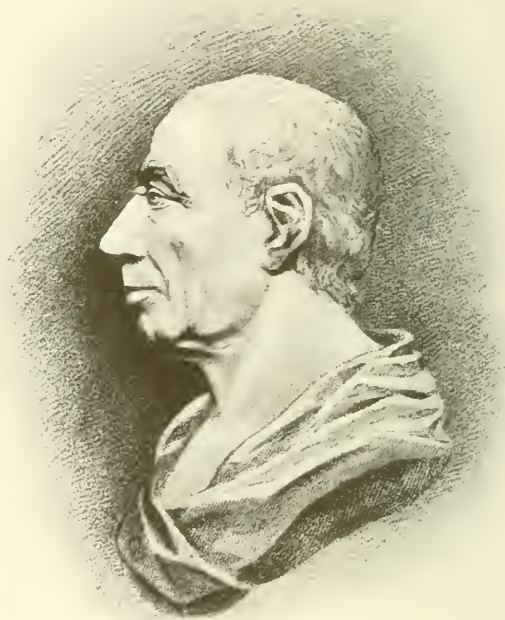
perfect as they would have been if they had been committed to writing in the days of his pristine intellectual vigour. He died in Edinburgh in 1812 and was buried in the Greyfriars churchyard. Macintyre could neither read nor write himself, so that he may be regarded as a perfect instance of a purely primitive poet who drew his inspiration solely from his own observation of men and things and from nature as manifested in the matchless beauties of his own Highland glens and mountains. In his appreciation of those beauties, in the clearness and truthfulness of his descriptions, and in his inimitable powers of expression, Macintyre must rank as a poet of the first order. The other best known Gaelic poets of this period were Alexander Macdonald, a native of Moidart, in Inverness-shire; Robert Mackay, the Sutherland poet; Dugald Buchanan, a native of Perthshire, who wrote religious poetry; William Ross, a native of Ross-shire; and Ewen Maclachlan, a native of Lochaber, who became rector of the grammar school of Old Aberdeen. With the exception of Robert Mackay, all these were men of good education, well versed in the works of the best English and Latin authors, in touch with the literary movements of the south, and perceptibly influenced by English contemporary writers, more especially by Thomson, but even when the thought is foreign and perhaps meagre the language is always easy, clear, forcible, and musical.

The national art of Scotland at the time of the union was at the lowest possible ebb. George Jamesone, "The Scots Vandyke" (1588-1644), a native of Aberdeen, left no successor. The imaginary portraits of the kings of Scotland in Holyrood Palace were painted in

the reign of Queen Anne by a Dutch artist called De Witt. Allan Ramsay (1713-1784), son of the poet, studied at Rome and became a fashionable and distinguished portrait painter, but though he kept up his connections with Scotland he lived chiefly in London and became court painter for King George III. Alexander Runciman (1736-1785), who was born in Edinburgh and lived there, was a celebrated historical painter. In 1753 Robert Foulis (1707-1776), printer to the University of Glasgow, opened a school of art in that city, which was conducted with indifferent success and little encouragement from his fellow citizens for about twenty years. One of the students of this art school was David Allan (1774-1796), a native of Alloa, whose drawings for Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* are excellent illustrations of the rural Scottish life of that time. There were many good portrait painters in Edinburgh during this period, such as Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), to whom we owe a well-known portrait of Robert Burns in 1787, but the greatest of them all was Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), a native of Edinburgh, who has left us portraits of David Hume, Sir Walter Scott, James Boswell, Lord Melville, Sir David Baird, Sir John Sinclair, Henry Mackenzie, Neil Gow, Henry Erskine, Dugald Stewart, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn, and others. Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841), a native of Fifeshire, was one of the greatest of British artists and painted many scenes of homely Scottish life. His greatest work is said to be "The Chelsea Pensioners listening to the News of Waterloo," which was painted for the Duke of Wellington. The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and

Architecture was founded in Edinburgh in 1826 and incorporated in 1838, and of late the "Glasgow School" of painters has raised the standard of Scottish art to a still higher level.

Note.—Further particulars about men whose names are only mentioned in this chapter will be found in the biographical notes at the end of the book.



PROFESSOR THOMAS REID, D.D.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

As the causes of the various ecclesiastical controversies which have agitated Scotland since the union had their origin in earlier times, it will be convenient to begin this chapter with a brief survey of the events immediately following the Reformation. It was in the year 1560 that the Scottish Parliament formally adopted the reformed religion, and the leaders of the movement at this period are known as "the Lords of the Congregation." In that year the Scottish Confession of Faith, usually known as "Knox's Confession," was adopted; and the government of the Church was entrusted to ten superintendents, each presiding over a district or diocese, and the first General Assembly was held. In 1564 the Book of Common Order, usually known as "Knox's Liturgy" and originally prepared for an English congregation at Geneva, was adopted for public worship and continued in use for nearly a century, that is, until it was superseded by the Directory of Public Worship, which was drawn up by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. It contained forms for ordinary worship both on Sundays and week-days, for the administration of the sacraments, and for certain other occasions, but the minister was not absolutely restricted to these forms. The people took no direct part in the ordinary public worship, except in the singing of the psalms, and there

was no observance of ecclesiastical seasons, as all holy days except Sunday were abolished.

The pre-Reformation Church in Scotland had become notoriously corrupt and unpopular, and the breach with Rome was violent and complete. Nevertheless it was not the aim of the reformers to break the continuity of the Church by setting up a new one. The baptism and ordination of the unreformed Church were both held to be valid, and it was out of the old Roman priesthood that the new Protestant ministry arose. The government of the reformed Church was for some time in a very unsettled state. The superintendents had failed to establish any authority and their office soon fell into abeyance. In the midst of the confusion a General Assembly, which met at Perth in 1572, restored, with the concurrence of Knox, a modified form of Episcopacy, but the restored Episcopate also proved a failure. The new bishops, being only the nominees of certain powerful noblemen among the lords of the congregation, who had appropriated the Episcopal revenues, were contemptuously nicknamed "Tulchans." A tulchan was a stuffed calfskin which was placed by the side of a cow to make her yield more readily to the milking of the dairymaid. Similarly the nobles received the money but expected the people to believe that it went to the bishops. So far the Scottish Church did not object to Episcopacy in itself, and the strong opposition afterwards shown to that form of Church government is to be traced very largely to the influence of the nobles, who feared that the establishment of a sufficiently powerful Episcopate might compel them to restore the Episcopal revenues and other Church property which they had so dishonestly appropriated at the time of the

Reformation. It was in 1592; twenty years after the death of Knox, and mainly through the influence of Andrew Melville, that the Presbyterian form of Church government was first ratified by the Scottish Parliament.

In 1610 steps were taken to restore the historic Scottish Episcopate and to bring the Church of Scotland into full communion with the Church of England. By command of the king three Scottish ministers, the best known of whom was John Spottiswoode, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, proceeded to London to receive Episcopal consecration from the English bishops. On their return to Scotland they consecrated other bishops and thus began the period known as the "First Episcopacy." No change was made, however, in the form of public worship and the Book of Common Order still remained in use. But further changes were forthcoming, and in 1618 a General Assembly held at Perth brought the Scottish Church into closer touch with Catholic usage by adopting, under the guidance of Archbishop Spottiswoode, the following five articles, viz., kneeling at holy communion; private communion for the sick; private baptism for weak children; confirmation by bishop of children not under eight years of age; and religious observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Whit Sunday.

In 1637 an attempt was made by Charles I. to force upon the Scottish Church a new liturgy, which is commonly known as Laud's Prayer Book. It was modelled on the English Book of Common Prayer and in the preparation of it Laud had the assistance of John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and James Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, so that it was to some extent a Scottish work. This unfortunate attempt gave

rise to a powerful and determined opposition, not against the reading of prayers as is sometimes supposed, for the Book of Common Order was still in use, but against the manner in which the attempted introduction of the new liturgy was made. In short, the opposition was political rather than religious, and there are very few events recorded in our national history more fateful or far-reaching in results than this attempt to force a new liturgy upon the Church of Scotland. It gave the more violent and fanatical section of the people and of the clergy an excuse for breaking out into extreme measures and precipitated the great civil war with all its accompanying disasters.

The opposition to Laud's Prayer Book speedily developed into a movement against Episcopacy, and in the following year, 1638, the National Covenant was signed in the Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh, by nobles, ministers, burgesses, and commons of all sorts, who pledged themselves in the name of the Lord to defend Presbyterianism, which they held to be the true religion, and to resist all innovations; and in a General Assembly held in Glasgow in the same year the authority of the king was set aside, the bishops deposed and excommunicated, and Presbyterianism re-established. The proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly amounted to rebellion, which the king resolved to put down by force. The king's army met the Covenanters at Dunse Law in May 1639, where a temporary peace was arranged without bloodshed, but when the civil war began between the king and the Parliament in England the Covenanters joined the Puritan majority of the English Parliament against the king, and in 1643 there was drawn up another and more aggressive covenant, known as the

Solemn League and Covenant, by which Covenanters and Puritans alike pledged themselves to act together for the defence of their religion, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, and the punishment of such as attempted to form any faction contrary to this league and covenant. This new covenant was signed in St. Margaret's, Westminster, by most of the members of the English Parliament, and by the Assembly of Divines which had just then commenced their sittings. It was extensively signed also by the people both in England and in Scotland. In the south-west of Scotland it was taken up with wild enthusiasm, but received very little support north of the Tay.

The Assembly of Divines met in Westminster by command of the English Parliament "for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England," and included a few commissioners from Scotland. It began its sittings in July 1643, and ended them in February 1648. The Assembly included advocates of various forms of Church polity to begin with, but the Presbyterian party predominated in the end and their labours were set forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism, the Shorter Catechism, the Directory of Public Worship, and the metrical version of the Psalms still in use among the various Presbyterian sects of Scotland. The Book of Common Prayer in England and the Book of Common Order in Scotland were set aside; the Westminster Confession of Faith became for some time the official creed of both nations, and the Westminster Directory their guide for the conduct of public worship.

The Westminster Confession was at first received with such disfavour by a large proportion of the people

of Scotland that forty years of grievous strife had to pass before it was finally adopted as the legal standard of the Scottish Church. It is the official standard of that Church still, but in England it was so completely set aside in the ecclesiastical settlement which followed the Restoration of King Charles II. in 1660 that it has gradually come to be regarded as a purely Scottish production. It is, however, an English work, and, like it, many of the Scottish Church customs which Englishmen now view with surprise can be traced to the influence of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

While the divines were holding their sittings in Westminster and the civil war raging in England, important and fateful events were passing in Scotland also. The great Marquis of Montrose made his heroic but unsuccessful effort to maintain the cause of the king against the rebel Covenanters in 1644-1645. In England the military genius of Cromwell was at the same time triumphing over all obstacles, and the king, finding that his own cause was fast becoming hopeless, surrendered himself at Newark into the hands of the Scottish Covenanter army, which was then serving in England in alliance with the Parliamentary army. The Scottish army basely sold him to the English Parliament, by whom he was brought to an unconstitutional trial and beheaded at Whitehall on January 30, 1649.

But the political views of the Covenanters, who recognised the monarchical form of government and proclaimed Charles II. king after the execution of his father, were distasteful to Cromwell. So also were their ideas of Church government, for he was himself an Independent or Congregationalist. He accordingly entered Scotland at the head of an army, and having

inflicted upon the Covenanters a crushing defeat at Dunbar in 1650, he suppressed the General Assembly and took the control of the Church into his own hands, but made no change in it. His aim was to unite the two kingdoms into one republic with the same laws and the same form of Church government. In furtherance of this policy he treated Scotland with severe but strict and impartial justice according to his own views, but he died in 1658, long before his work became consolidated, and the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland once more lapsed into a state of confusion.

The Restoration of King Charles II. in 1660 was followed by a reaction against the stern and gloomy rule of the Commonwealth. The Scottish Parliament met the following year and proceeded at once to undo the work of the Covenanters and to restore Episcopacy. Some ministers were again sent to England for Episcopal consecration, and this began the period which is sometimes known as the "Second Episcopacy." The best known of the new bishops were Robert Leighton, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, and James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was savagely murdered by a gang of Covenanters on Magus Moor near St. Andrews in 1679. Apart from the restoration of the Episcopate no other change was made. There was no attempt made to introduce a liturgy or even to enforce the observance of the Perth articles. This new settlement was readily accepted in most parts of Scotland, but in Ayrshire and Galloway, which formed the chief stronghold of the Covenanters, it was bitterly opposed, and there were many ministers who refused to accept it and were consequently ejected from their parishes. In the south-west these ministers soon gathered around them-

selves a large number of fanatical followers, against whom the Scottish government began an irritating persecution, until at last the more extreme among them renounced their allegiance to the king and broke out into open rebellion. The chief leader of these extremists was a young man called Richard Cameron, whose followers afterwards became known as the Cameronians. This rebellion was put down by John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards created Viscount Dundee—the “Bonnie Dundee” of the Jacobite ballad—but his task was barely completed when the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland were once more thrown into violent confusion by the Revolution of 1688.

When the Scottish Convention¹ Parliament met in 1689 the bishops resolved to continue in their allegiance to King James. This resolution forced William of Orange to give his support to the Presbyterians, as they were in favour of the Revolution, and in the following year, 1690, Presbyterianism was once more made the established religion of Scotland, which it has continued to be ever since. The Westminster Confession of Faith was finally ratified as the national standard of belief and the right of patrons to appoint the ministers was taken away and given to the parishioners. In the same year the General Assembly met for the first time since it was suppressed by Cromwell in 1653. These measures are known as the Revolution Settlement. Of the Presbyterian ministers who had been ejected from their livings at the time of the Restoration there were about sixty still living. These men were now restored to their old parishes and in the business of the General Assembly of 1690 they

¹ See note p. 7.

took the leading part. They were called the "Antediluvians," as having survived the deluge of prelacy that had swept over the land, and though many of them were no doubt good and earnest men yet they were utterly unfit to wield with discretion or fairness the power which Parliament had placed in their hands. It will thus be seen that the Revolution Settlement inherited many elements of controversy and strife and that the circumstances in which it was effected were not of such a nature as to ensure permanent harmony and peace.

No sooner had the government of King James fallen than the people of the south-west began to "rabble" or mob their Episcopalian ministers, or curates as they were generally called. In many cases the rabblings were arranged for Christmas in order to show their contempt for Episcopalian festivals, and before long about two hundred curates were thus ejected or "outed" with more or less violence. When Parliament and the General Assembly got to work many more were ejected in other parts of Scotland (as well as in the south-west) for refusing to pray publicly for King William and Queen Mary. To the General Assembly, dominated by the Antediluvians, Parliament entrusted the task of purging the Church of all "scandalous and erroneous" ministers. This description was held to be applicable to all curates, and the task was taken up with such misguided zeal and untempered truculence that the Scottish Parliament eventually found it necessary to interfere, and in 1693 there was passed an Act of Toleration, by which all Episcopalian ministers who would take the oath of allegiance to the new king, subscribe the Confession of Faith, and conform to Presbytery

were to be allowed to remain in possession of their livings. The clergy who refused to accept this settlement were called non-jurors, because they refused to swear the oath of allegiance. In all about six hundred curates were ejected, while about three hundred were allowed to remain undisturbed, partly because they took the qualifying oaths, but more frequently because the loyalty and devotion of the people made it impossible for Assembly or Presbytery to interfere with them. Twenty years after the Revolution, that is about the time of the union, there were one hundred and sixty-five Episcopalian ministers still in possession of parish churches and in many cases living at peace with their Presbyterian neighbours, with whom they sometimes shared by turns the use of the churches. To the ordinary man, who took only a superficial view of things, the difference between the two forms of worship was but slight. The Episcopalian congregation stood during prayer while the Presbyterians sat, and the prayers of both were extempore, as only very few curates used any liturgy. The Episcopalians said the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed and repeated the doxology at the close of psalm, chapter, and sermon. All these were omitted by the Presbyterians. At the baptism of a child the Episcopalian father had to repeat the Apostles' Creed, the Presbyterian to express his belief in the Confession of Faith. The communion was received by both sitting. The Episcopalians usually preached a sermon on Christmas Day and administered the communion on Easter Day or on Whit Sunday; the Presbyterians observed no Church festivals. Both Episcopalians and Presbyterians enjoined a reverent observance of Sunday, and both had

their kirk sessions and presbyteries, and also their synods, of which in the case of the Episcopalians the bishop was moderator.

To the north of the Tay the people clung loyally to their old curates, who neither conformed to Presbytery nor took the oath of allegiance, and a whole generation had to pass away before it was found possible to settle many Presbyterian ministers among them. In many cases the new minister had to be intruded upon the people by force of arms, but this was not always the result of any strong or special attachment to the Episcopalian form of worship, which differed so little from the Presbyterian form, but rather of their loyalty and devotion to their old Gaelic curates and their dislike of the Lowland Covenanters, and therefore when the old curates died out the transition from the one form of worship to the other was often easier than might have been expected.

In 1712 an Act was passed by the British Parliament securing toleration for the Scottish Episcopalians, but the Rebellion of 1715, in which they openly joined the Jacobites, was followed by a renewal of repressive legislation. The severity of the repressive laws was again increased after the Rebellion of 1745, when it was made illegal for a non-juring clergyman to conduct service with a congregation of more than four in addition to his own family. A layman attending an illegal service became liable to penalties, and the offending minister was subject to six months' imprisonment for his first offence and to banishment for life for the second. In 1748 the laws were made still more severe and the clergyman's family had now to be included in the four which used to be permitted for a congregation. Their

meeting houses were burned or destroyed, and men in Scottish orders were forbidden to act as chaplains in private families, and were not allowed to qualify themselves by taking the oath of allegiance. The object of the government was clearly to exterminate the Scottish Episcopal party, but in spite of persecution the clergy continued not only to exist but to hold meetings and to possess the confidence and devotion of a large and loyal following. When Prince Charles died in 1788, and his brother Henry renounced the intention of claiming the British crown, the non-jurors offered to recognise George III. as their king and to swear allegiance to him. This was followed by the repeal of the penal statutes in 1792, but the Scottish clergy were still prohibited from holding a benefice in England or even officiating in an English church. It was not until 1864 that these disabilities were finally removed and Scottish Episcopal orders became recognised by the laws of the British Parliament as well as by the Church of England.

As already stated, the Episcopalians had no liturgy of their own at the time of the Revolution. Although they were in communion with the Church of England, they disliked the English Prayer Book, partly because it was not a Scottish work, and partly because it was used by the English tax-gatherers and other hated officials who had flocked into Scotland after the union. There was, however, a party which might be described as anti-ritualistic that favoured the use of the English Prayer Book, and a ritualistic party that desired Laud's Prayer book with certain ritual "usages" of a Catholic character. There were difficulties also about the manner of electing bishops. The ritualistic party wanted diocesan bishops elected by the Church itself,

while the opposite party were in favour of a college of bishops without settled districts and appointed by their acknowledged king, James. These questions led to some keen and bitter controversy, but there was a general preference shown in the end for diocesan bishops, and for Laud's Prayer Book as being to some extent a Scottish work, ordered for use by the Scottish King Charles I., and a slightly modified edition of it was published which came partly into use in 1724. The final revision now known as the Scottish Communion Office was made in 1784, and for other services than the communion the English Prayer Book began to be used. Since then the English Communion Office has come into general use in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

It is interesting to record that the great Episcopal Church in America derives its succession from the Scottish Church through Samuel Seabury, who was consecrated Bishop of Connecticut by three Scottish bishops at Aberdeen in 1784. This was followed in 1789 by the adoption of the Scottish Communion Office for use in the American Church. Of the many sects whose aims and doings make up the religious history of Scotland since the Reformation, there has been none more genuinely national than the Scottish Episcopal Church. It was the one that owed least to English and foreign influence in the development of its religious and political ideals, which were essentially national and patriotic, and to which it clung with a devotion so loyal and unselfish as to form one of the most pleasing features of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

Although the Scottish Episcopalians were such loyal supporters of the Stuart dynasty, yet the Stuarts themselves clung to the Roman Catholic Church with an

unwavering and fanatical devotion. In Scotland, however, that Church had little or no influence. In the south it had practically no open adherents, but in the central and more inaccessible parts of the Highlands it had a numerous following under the protection of the powerful house of Gordon and various Highland chiefs, in whose territories Roman Catholic priests moved about with perfect freedom, in spite of the repressive laws that existed against them. Hence there was then and there always has been a numerous sprinkling of Roman Catholics, many of them of old and honourable standing, to be found in some of the more inaccessible districts of the central and western Highlands.

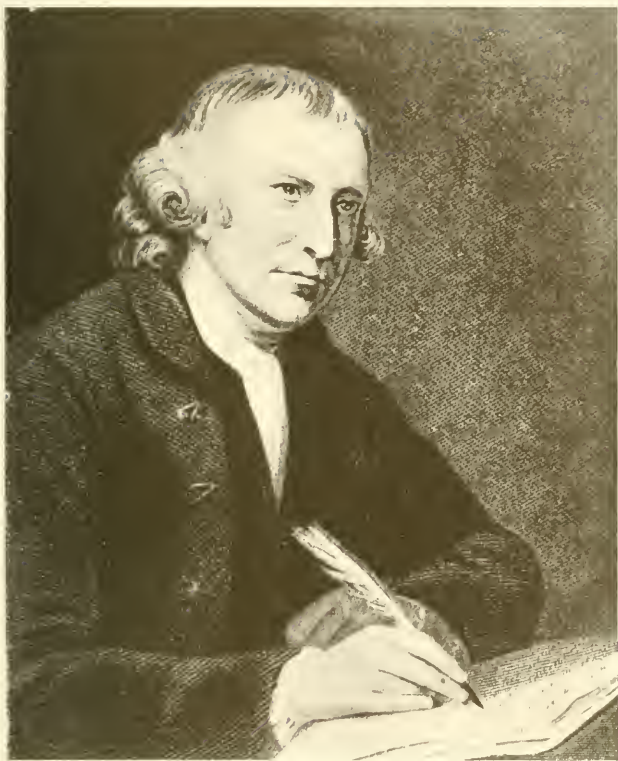
It remains now to trace the course of events among the Presbyterians who became the Established Church of Scotland by the Revolution Settlement of 1690. By this settlement the strictest sect among the Presbyterians obtained the ascendancy, and immediately set up an ecclesiastical tyranny in which the principle of toleration had no place. They claimed the right to interfere with everything from the government of the kingdom down to the private affairs of domestic life and revived in all their barbarity the laws against witchcraft which had been allowed to lapse into abeyance in the time of the Episcopacy. Although King William himself was strongly favourable to religious toleration, his government had to countenance those extremists as being the chief supporters of the Revolution in Scotland, and though at one time a serious breach threatened to arise between themselves and the king with regard to the form of the oath of allegiance which the clergy were asked to take, yet their ascendancy continued in ecclesiastical affairs until towards the end of Queen

Anne's reign. The trouble about the oath arose under the following circumstances. The Scots Parliament of 1693 demanded from the Episcopalian ministers an oath of allegiance to William and Mary, which most of them refused to take as already stated. In this the Parliament had the support of the Presbyterian ministers, but when Parliament, influenced by the tory party, insisted that the Presbyterian ministers also should take the oath, they vehemently objected to take an oath which required their king to be a member of the Church of England. In the end the form of the oath was changed, and the difficulty overcome largely by the sagacity and tact of William Carstairs, the most notable ecclesiastic and statesman in Scotland during King William's reign and afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University. Carstairs, though a strict and stout Presbyterian himself, nevertheless used his influence with the Church to promote the cause of peace and moderation, but the oath caused much quarrelling among the Presbyterian ministers themselves between those who took it and those who refused to do so.

The return of the tory party to power in 1710 was followed in 1712 by the Act of Toleration already referred to and by the famous Act for the restoration of lay ecclesiastical patronage. It is generally asserted that the object of this Act was to strengthen the Jacobite interest among the ministers of the Church by making them dependent on the tory and Jacobite aristocracy rather than on the common people and middle classes whose sympathies were mainly whig, but the reasons given in the preamble of the Act itself are of a very different nature. When patronage was abolished in 1690 Parliament decreed that every patron

should receive from the heritors of the parish 600 merks (£33 6s. 8d.) as compensation for the privilege which he was losing. In very few parishes, however, was this compensation paid, and the patrons consequently refused to give up their rights. The avowed object of the Act, then, was to put an end to "the great heats and divisions" which usually arose at the election of ministers and to safeguard the rights of the patrons who had not been paid the legal compensation. Where this compensation had been paid the Act provided that the patronage should remain in the hands of the parishioners. The Patronage Act of 1712 has sometimes been regarded as the chief cause of the discord and strife which have been such an unfortunate feature of the Presbyterianism of Scotland, but the elements of discord and strife existed apart from the Act and were bound sooner or later to become prominent. The stricter Presbyterians held that the Patronage Act was a breach of the Treaty of Union and never admitted its validity. From year to year they raised their protest against it in the General Assembly, and constantly attributed to it divisions and troubles which had their origin in totally different causes. At the time of its passing, however, it was hardly looked upon as a grievance at all, and met with far less opposition than the Toleration Act of the same year.

Nevertheless the Patronage Act had important and far-reaching results. The men chosen for preferment by the patrons were as a rule of better education, wider culture, and more tolerant views than the stricter sect which at first formed the majority of the ministers. By degrees these men drew into the Church a large number of the landed aristocracy who had hitherto been Episco-



REV. ALEXANDER CARLYLE, D.D.

palian. As a result, partly of this change, and partly of the influence of those Episcopalianes who continued, as we have already found, to hold their livings in the Established Church after the Revolution, there arose within the Church two distinct parties of widely differing views. There was this new semi-prelatic party, commonly called the "Legalists" or "Moderates," and the old strictly Calvinistic and Puritan party known as the "Evangelicals" or "Highfliers." Thenceforward the history of the Church of Scotland is the history of the protracted struggle between these two parties. It is not the object of this book to pronounce an opinion upon the merits of that struggle from any religious point of view but merely to consider it as it affected the course of the secular history of the nation.

In 1718 an old English puritanic book called *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, which had been first published in 1646 with the approval of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was republished by some prominent evangelicals, one of whom was Thomas Boston, minister of Ettrick in the county of Selkirk. The extreme baldness of its Calvinism was very distasteful to the "Moderates," and through their influence the book was condemned in 1720. Thus the moderates became the leading party and continued to shape and guide the policy of the Church until near the close of the century. The difference between the moderates and the evangelicals was quite irreconcilable. While the evangelicals looked upon themselves as the only true custodians of the purity of the orthodox faith, and professed to regard most of the temporal interests of life as being outside the sphere of true religion, if not indeed opposed to it, the moderates endeavoured to

maintain order and discipline within the Church rather than a fanatical zeal for orthodoxy. Their ideal virtue was "sanctified common sense," and they concerned themselves with the whole field of human interest and regarded the advancement of the material welfare of the nation as a Christian duty. The tendency of their teaching was broad and tolerant, their sermons were frequently moral discourses on the practical duties of life, and they did not forbid a rational indulgence in the ordinary pleasures of life. They strove to encourage the cultivation of intellectual and literary attainments, and among their ministers there were men who rose to the highest eminence in every department of literature and learning. The moderates attained their highest influence under the moderatorship of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk in 1770.

The difference between these two great ecclesiastical parties did not lessen as time passed, and to the evangelicals the question of patronage was one that supplied a perpetual grievance. The moderates preferred the choosing of ministers by patrons rather than the excitement and strife which would be sure to arise in connection with the election of ministers by the parishioners. When a patron neglected to present to a vacant living, the duty of filling the vacancy devolved upon the Church, which, through this and various other causes, came in course of time to have a large amount of patronage of her own, and the question arose how this patronage was to be exercised. In 1732 the General Assembly decreed that in such cases the minister should be chosen by a majority of the elders and Protestant heritors of the parish. This measure was strongly disapproved of by the evangelicals, who claimed a voice for the con-

gregations in the election of their own ministers, and the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, preaching shortly afterwards before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, denounced its authors so vehemently that he was eventually censured by the General Assembly. For refusing to acknowledge this censure the Assembly resolved by the casting vote of the moderator that Erskine and three others who joined with him should be deposed. Without waiting for the sentence of deposition, which, indeed, was not passed just then, these ministers seceded from the Church, and formed themselves into the "Associate Presbytery" at Gairney Bridge near Kinross in December 1733. The Church made many efforts to heal the breach and tried every possible means of conciliation, but the seceders were quite intractable. Though they refused to hold communion with the ministers of the Church they nevertheless continued to occupy their old pulpits and to draw their stipends until at last they were finally deposed in 1740.

It was not long before the seceders found occasion for bitter difference among themselves. A controversy arose among them as to whether it was right for a man assuming municipal office to take a burgher oath in which the Established Church was described as the "true religion." On this point they divided in 1747 into two sects, the burghers or the "Associate Synod" and the anti-burghers or "General Associate Synod." The burghers were willing to take the oath on the understanding that they expressed approval of the Established Church only in so far as it was true. The anti-burghers held that the oath could not be taken at all without sin. The Rev. Ebenezer Erskine and his brother Ralph

held the burgher view and were consequently excommunicated by the anti-burghers. But the process of sub-division did not end even there, and before long the burghers became divided into the "Old Lights," who adhered to the literal interpretation of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the "New Lights," who professed to see it in a new light which made it no longer necessary for them to hold that the civil magistrate should interfere to punish religious errors. The anti-burghers also quarrelled among themselves as to whether the sacred elements in holy communion should be "lifted" before the consecration prayer or after, and so became divided into "Lifters" and "Anti-lifters" who would hold no intercourse with each other. These different sects of seceders were quite as bitterly opposed to each other as they were to the Established Church, and their quarrels and disputes form a curious and painful feature of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the time of Robert Burns we find the moderates called "New Lights" and the evangelicals "Old Lights."

While the disputes of the burghers and anti-burghers were at their height another secession from the Established Church occurred, and this time also the ostensible cause was the question of patronage. An unpopular man having been presented to the parish of Inverkeithing in Fifeshire, the presbytery of Dunfermline refused to ordain him against the wish of the parishioners. For this act of insubordination one member of the presbytery, the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock, was chosen for punishment and deposed by the General Assembly in 1752, though he was no more guilty of insubordination than the

other members who formed the majority of the presbytery. Gillespie was a saintly and amiable man of high character and had many sympathisers and followers, who in 1761 formed themselves into the "Relief Synod," so called because they sought relief from the laws of patronage. This sect did not cherish the same bitterness towards the Established Church as the seceders did. They even desired to return to the Church, but their approaches were rejected. The Dissenters soon became a powerful element in the life of the nation and they had many sympathisers among the evangelicals within the Church, but they dissipated their energies largely on fine-drawn disputes about orthodoxy, leaving the Established Church all the more free to continue her efforts for the practical and material as well as the spiritual well-being of the nation.

It was the good fortune of the Established Church at this time to have among her clergy, both moderate and evangelical, a number of men of great talent and eminence, who knew how to overlook differences of opinion in working for the common good of their country, and it is a significant comment on the spirit of brotherhood which prevailed within the Church in the time of the moderate ascendancy that when Dr. William Robertson, the historian, was minister of the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, and leader of the moderate party, his colleague, Dr. John Erskine, was at the same time leader of the evangelicals. These two men differed greatly in their views and were leaders of opposite parties without allowing the duties which they discharged in common to suffer and without losing their personal regard or respect for each other.

It was in connection with an attempt to repeal the

laws against the Roman Catholics that the ascendancy of the great moderate party encountered its first check. By those laws they were forbidden to educate their own children, exercise their worship, or hold any property, but in practice these cruel laws were to a large extent overlooked. In England the Roman Catholic disabilities were relieved in 1778. In the next General Assembly the moderates moved in favour of similar relief for the Roman Catholics of Scotland also, but this was opposed by the evangelical party, and the popular feeling against the Roman Catholics became roused to such a pitch of excitement that all thoughts of repeal had to be abandoned. With this outbreak of popular feeling against the Roman Catholics there was unfortunately a revival of party rancour and ecclesiastical strife within the Church herself, and the influence of the moderate party perceptibly began to decline.

With the decline of that influence patrons ceased to exercise the same care as formerly in the choice of ministers, while the patronage of the crown was frequently exercised on mere political grounds. Against such abuses the moderate leaders remonstrated, but unfortunately in vain. The opposite party found in these abuses a good opportunity for reviving the old feeling against patronage and asserting their claim to spiritual independence of the civil courts. Under the leadership of Dr. Andrew Thomson and Dr. Thomas Chalmers that party quickly rose into popularity and influence, and events gradually began to shape themselves into the great controversy which led up to the Disruption of 1843.

That controversy is known as the "Ten Years' Conflict," and the ostensible and central subject of dispute

was the question of patronage, but the real issue at stake was the so-called spiritual independence of the Church, or whether the Church was to be subject to the jurisdiction of the civil courts. It was not at all a new question but one that had cropped up in the past in one form or another in most of the countries of Europe. The moderate party upheld the rights of the patrons and the authority of the civil courts. The evangelicals denied the authority of the civil courts in ecclesiastical matters, and maintained that parishioners ought to have the right to choose their own ministers. The power of admitting a presentee to a benefice had always rested with the presbytery, and if any reasonable objections could be raised against him the presbytery had the power to reject him. This was not enough for the General Assembly where the evangelical party was now in the majority, and in 1834 they passed an Act giving to the majority of the congregation the absolute right to reject a presentee without assigning any cause whatever. This was called the Veto Act. It claimed for the Church the right to set aside an Act of Parliament and soon brought her into collision with the civil authority.

In 1834, the same year in which the Veto Act was passed, the Rev. Robert Young was presented by the Earl of Kinnoull to the parish of Auchterarder, in Perthshire, but when the presbytery, which bears the same name as the parish, proceeded to his settlement they found that a large majority of the congregation were opposed to him. No exception was taken either to his character or to his teaching, but in obedience to the Veto Act the presbytery refused to proceed with the settlement. The presentee and the patron then

appealed against the presbytery to the Court of Session, and the case was eventually carried to the House of Lords. The decision of both tribunals was against the presbytery, and the Veto Act was declared illegal, as the General Assembly had no power to change the statute law of the country.

In the General Assembly of 1839 the moderates proposed a motion for the repeal of the Veto Act, but the proposal was rejected by the majority who were now called the non-intrusionists. They next appealed to the government for legislation to support their claims, while the moderate party maintained that the first thing to do was to vindicate the supremacy of the civil authority as the only true safeguard of civil and religious liberty. Meantime there occurred another serious collision between the Church and the civil court. In 1837 the Rev. John Edwards having been presented to the parish of Marnoch, in Banffshire, the presbytery of Strathbogie resolved by decree of the Court of Session to proceed with the settlement in spite of the veto of the congregation. For acting thus in obedience to the Court of Session, the ministers—seven in number—who formed the majority were deposed by the General Assembly, but as they held the sentence of deposition to be illegal they continued their ministrations as usual and refused to give way to the ministers sent by the Assembly to supersede them. The Strathbogie incident was made an occasion to arouse the feelings of the Highlands, where the non-intrusionist cause was taken up by the two greatest Gaelic preachers of their generation, the Rev. John Macdonald of Ferintosh and the Rev. John Macrae of Knockbain. Both parishes are in the neighbourhood of Dingwall, which became the

Highland centre of the movement. The appeal made to the religious enthusiasm of the Highlands met with a ready and all but unanimous response.

There was yet another point on which the Church and the civil courts came into serious collision. Through the energy and the labours of Dr. Chalmers about two hundred chapels-of-ease, known as parliamentary churches, had lately been established throughout the country, but as the ministers of those chapels were not parish ministers they had no seats in the Church courts, that is, the Presbytery, the Synod, and the General Assembly. There was already a court which had the power to form parishes, but the General Assembly, ignoring this court, and without referring the question to the presbyteries, which they ought to have done by the Barrier Act,¹ declared that the chapel-of-ease ministers should henceforth rank as parish ministers and have seats in the Church courts. There were men even among the evangelicals who protested against this hasty resolution as a dangerous innovation, and it was not long before a test case was brought into the civil court. The presbytery of Irvine, in Ayrshire, proceeded to divide the parish of Stewarton into two, but was interdicted by the patron. Litigation ensued and the Court of Session pronounced the action of the presbytery illegal as the General Assembly had not the power to form new parishes. By this decision the

¹ The Barrier Act provides that any proposed change or Act after being approved by the General Assembly must be remitted to the presbyteries for their consideration, and the approval of a majority of the presbyteries must be reported to the next General Assembly and confirmed by that court before the proposed change or Act can become a standing law of the Church.

chapel-of-ease ministers were deprived of their seats in the Church courts.

It was fast becoming clear that matters would soon have to reach a climax. The popular party, defeated in all their efforts to ignore the civil authority, was beginning to prepare for separation, and as a final proposal to the government the General Assembly of 1842 passed by a majority of two to one a statement of their grievances and demands known as "The Claim of Right." In due time the claim of right came before Parliament, but only to be rejected by an overwhelming majority. Sir Robert Peel spoke of it as a departure from "principles which are essential to the civil and religious liberties of the country," and both sides of the House denounced it as unconstitutional and incapable of being entertained. As the absolute supremacy of the civil law is universally recognised to be the fundamental basis of all civilised society the rejection of the claim of right by parliament was the only thing that could reasonably have been expected. "No government could have satisfied claims which in their very essence were inconsistent with the supremacy of civil laws."

Meantime the non-intrusionist party were preparing for the contemplated separation. They had pledged themselves to leave the Established Church if their claims were not granted by Parliament, and were making the necessary preparations for the adequate support of the ministers who were about to leave their benefices. In this they were liberally supported by many of the wealthier laymen of the country.

The General Assembly met on May 18, 1843. The Marquis of Bute was Lord High Commissioner, and as he had no message to deliver from the crown complying

with the demands set forth in the claim of right, the retiring moderator, Dr. David Welsh, instead of proceeding in the usual way to the election of his successor, read a protest justifying the course which his party had decided to adopt and calling upon the faithful to withdraw to a separate place of meeting. Having finished his protest, the moderator walked out of the hall followed by a large number of ministers and elders, who formed themselves into a procession and marched to another hall which had been prepared for the occasion at Canonmills on the outskirts of the city. Dr. Chalmers was acclaimed moderator, and they declared themselves to be the Free Church of Scotland. The attitude taken up by the new Church was clearly set forth by the moderator in his opening address: "Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment, we would rejoice in returning to a pure one. To express it otherwise—we are the advocates for a national recognition and national support of religion—and we are not Voluntaries."

The disruption was now an accomplished fact and out of the twelve hundred and three ministers who had formed the clergy of the United Church four hundred and fifty-one joined the new Church. They were liberally supported by a large and enthusiastic following at home, and received not only sympathy and approbation, but in many cases material support from England, Ireland, and the colonies. The sacrifice they were supposed to have made in quitting their benefices was in many cases therefore much more apparent than real, and the popularity they gained was so great that in many parts of the country it required much more

courage to remain in the Established Church than to quit it. Those who remained were in many places subjected to much bitter annoyance and petty persecution, the parish minister being looked upon as "the one excommunicated man of the district, the man with whom no one was to join in prayer," while the parish church was "to be avoided as an impure and unholy place."

In none of the secessions that had taken place was there any desire expressed to sever the connection of the Church with the state or to deprive her of her endowments. The usual contention was that the Church was departing from the principles of the Covenant, which emphatically asserted the duty of the state to interfere in the religious affairs of the subject. The only complaint against the state was that it did not support their side of the questions in dispute. But as time passed and new ministers arose, who found that their churches were able to exist on the voluntary contributions of their supporters, they gradually adopted voluntaryism as one of their principles and laid it down as a dogma that it was sinful for a Church to possess endowments. They forgot that nearly all the endowments of the Church were voluntary in their origin, and that a trust fund is practically but another name for an endowment. Thus began the movement for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church. The common policy supplied by the adoption of voluntaryism as a principle in opposition to the Erastianism¹ of the Established Church had the effect of drawing the seceding sects closer together, and in 1820 the burghers and the anti-burghers united under the name of the United

¹ See Note, p. 51.

Secession Synod. In 1847 the United Secession joined with the Relief Synod under the name of the United Presbyterian Church, which soon became a large and flourishing body with voluntarism for one of its fundamental principles. In 1876 the Reformed Presbyterians, who were the representatives of the old Cameronians who refused to accept the Revolution Settlement, joined the Free Church. But from all these unions there were dissentients, and there are still congregations known as the Cameronians, the Original Seceders, and the Relief Connection.

We have already found that the Free Church emphatically disclaimed all sympathy or connection with the voluntaries, but as the influence of the great Dr. Chalmers died out and the old associations with the Established Church became fewer and fewer, the principles of voluntarism began rapidly to gain ground in the Free Church also, and in 1900 it joined with the United Presbyterian Church under the name of the United Free Church. Into this union a small minority of the ministers of the Free Church, chiefly Highlanders, declined to enter and were treated with great harshness by the newly-formed Church. As measures were being taken to eject them from their churches and manse they appealed to the law for protection. The case was finally carried to the House of Lords, and there in 1904 the ministers forming the minority which had refused to enter into the union were declared to be the true Free Church and the lawful owners of all the Free Church trust property. This decision was followed in 1905 by an Act of Parliament to provide for an equitable distribution of the property between the legal Free Church, that is the anti-unionist minority, and the United Free Church.

Meanwhile the Established Church gradually overcame the difficulties in which the disruption of 1843 had placed her, and her course since then has been one of progress, expansion, and much usefulness. Patronage was abolished either wisely or unwisely by Act of Parliament in 1874, and ministers are now elected by the votes of the congregation.

We have thus traced in outline the history of Scotland from the Treaty of Union with England two centuries ago down to the present time. We have seen how fully that great legislative measure has been justified by its results. We have seen Scotland gradually rise from a state of disaster, misfortune, exhaustion, and poverty to a position of great power and influence in the affairs, not only of the British Empire, but of the whole civilised world. We have seen the Scottish members of the first half of the eighteenth century complaining of inability to hold their own in the united Parliament and clamouring for a repeal of the union, but in the second half of that century we find them occupying some of the highest and most influential positions in the state, and more than reconciled to a union which had been the means of providing them with so much wider a scope for the exercise of their talents and of bringing within their reach the triumphs and the prizes which the Imperial Parliament had to offer. The allied nation that is conscious of its own strength to act, and of its own power to influence, does not clamour for home rule. We have seen how Jacobitism, largely as the result of reaction against the union, continued to be a political force in Scotland so much longer than in England. We have traced the struggle between the Jacobites and the

Revolution whigs, which ended in the final defeat of the former on Culloden Moor, and then the rise to power of the tory party largely through the influence of such men as Henry Dundas and Sir Walter Scott. We have seen the heroic part played by the Scottish soldier throughout a long and dreadful struggle in which our very existence as a nation was more than once at stake until the crowning triumph of Waterloo raised us to the first place of power among the nations of the world. We have seen how the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by a whig ascendancy which has practically continued until the present time, to the great benefit of the middle and commercial classes. We have traced the rise of Scottish literature from rude ballads to a greatness of world-wide fame. We have traced the development of Scottish industry and commerce from small and unfortunate beginnings to the greatest industrial achievements and commercial prosperity. We have traced the growth of her agriculture from the most primitive conditions to the highest point of scientific perfection. We have seen the steady progress of education, science, and art, accompanied by a marked and continuous improvement in all the amenities of life. We have seen how the great moderate party arose in the Church with their "sanctified common sense," their scholarship and culture, their broad and tolerant religious principles, and their patriotic interest in all that concerned the temporal as well as the spiritual well-being of their countrymen. We have also seen how a revival of the stern and uncompromising spirit of the Puritan and Covenanter times brought about the disruption of the Church of Scotland, how this disruption led to developments which could hardly have been expected by its leaders,

and how the Established Church has recovered from the blow then received, maintaining her religious ideals and aims, her culture, her tolerance, her usefulness, and her touch with the national life and the national interests. These various political and religious events and movements must be regarded by different men from different points of view, and opinion is divided and must continue divided as to how far they are to be regarded as beneficial or otherwise, but there can be no difference of opinion as to the progress accomplished and the greatness achieved by Scotland during the period that has elapsed since the union with England, neither can there be any difference as to the grandeur of the heritage handed down to us by our Scottish countrymen whose names have gained so noble and so honourable a place in the annals of the great British Empire during the last two centuries.

CHRONICLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

- 1688 The Revolution.
- 1689 Battle of Killiecrankie. Death of Viscount Dundee.
- 1690 Revolution Settlement of Church of Scotland.
- 1692 Massacre of Glencoe.
- 1695 Darien Company formed. Bank of Scotland founded.
- 1696 Parish schools established by Act of Parliament.
- 1698 Darien expedition sailed from Leith.
- 1700 Darien colonists surrendered to the Spaniards.
- 1701 Scottish Parliament vindicates Darien Company.
Scottish Habeas Corpus passed; colliers and salters
excluded from its provisions.
- 1702 Accession of Queen Anne.
Commissioners appointed by both Parliaments to
treat of union, but they could not agree.
- 1703 Scottish Parliament meets, Duke of Queensberry
royal commissioner.
Act of Security passed, but commissioner instructed
to refuse to give it the royal assent.
- 1704 Act of Security passed again, and receives royal
assent. English Parliament replied by enacting
that after Christmas 1705 Scotsmen in England
should be treated as aliens.
Professors of Latin and Greek appointed at Glasgow
University.
- 1705 Act passed appointing commissioners to treat of
union.
Execution of Captain Green of the *Worcester*.
- 1706 Union Commissioners meet at the Cockpit, West-
minster, April 16.
Scottish Parliament assembles for the last time,
October 3.
- 1707 Act of Union passed by Scottish Parliament, Jan-
uary 16.

- 1707 Act having passed English Parliament received the royal assent, March 25, to come into force on May 1.
Scottish Parliament dissolved, April 28.
Lieutenant-Colonel Hooke's mission from France.
- 1708 Forbin's expedition.
Treason laws assimilated to those of England.
Regenting abolished at Edinburgh University and Professors of Latin and Greek appointed.
Lord Haddington introduced rye-grass and clover.
- 1709 Great famine.
- 1710 Tories come into power.
James Meikle of Saltoun introduced fanners, but they did not come into general use until much later.
- 1711 Greenshields' appeal to the House of Lords.
- 1712 Act of Toleration for Episcopalians.
Church patronage restored.
- 1713 Peace of Utrecht.
Malt tax levied.
Repeal of union proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Findlater.
Pensions given to Highland chiefs to secure their attachment to the Jacobite cause.
- 1714 Death of Queen Anne and accession of George I.
- 1715 Clan Act to encourage loyalty in Scotland.
Earl of Mar raises the standard of rebellion at Braemar, September 6.
Battle of Sheriffmuir, November 13.
Surrender of the Jacobites at Preston, November 13.
- 1716 Forfeited Estates Commissioners appointed.
Duke of Argyll disgraced, restored to favour 1719.
- 1718 *Edinburgh Courant* founded in whig interest.
First vessel owned by a Glasgow merchant crossed the Atlantic.
- 1719 Battle of Glenshiel, June 9.
Act enforcing statute labour for making roads.
General Assembly passed an Act condemning smuggling, also in 1736, 1744.
Legislation against Episcopalians.

- 1720 Carts beginning to be used about this time.
Tea-drinking coming into fashion.
Caledonian Mercury founded in tory interest.
Boston's *Fourfold State* published.
The Marrow Controversy begun.
- 1723 Society of Improvers of Knowledge of Agriculture founded.
- 1724 Wade sent to survey the Highlands: 260 miles of road made between 1726 and 1737.
Modified edition of Laud's Prayer Book published.
Walpole proposed tax of 6d. per barrel on ale.
The tax on ale had effect of increasing consumption of whisky, which before this was little known.
Experiments, apparently unsuccessful, made in potato and turnip growing by Cockburn of Ormiston in Haddingtonshire.
- 1725 Shawfield riots in Glasgow.
Office of Secretary for Scotland suspended until 1742.
Duke of Argyll, his brother Lord Islay, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden assume guidance of Scottish affairs.
Disarmament Act for the Highlands.
Formation of six independent companies (480 men) to preserve order on the Highland border.
Crofter evictions and enclosures, which were destroyed by the people, attempted in Nithsdale and Gallo-way.
Conclusion of labours of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners.
Allan Ramsay opened a circulating library in Edinburgh.
- 1726 Thomson's *Winter* published.
Efforts made to improve study of medicine and surgery in Edinburgh.
- 1727 Death of George I.
Board of Manufactures established.
Royal Bank of Scotland founded.
Last witch-burning in Scotland.
Regenting discontinued at Glasgow University.

- 1729 Professor Francis Hutcheson began to lecture in English instead of Latin at Glasgow University.
Edinburgh Royal Infirmary started in a small house by efforts of George Drummond.
- 1733 Secession from the Established Church, under the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine and three other ministers, who formed the Associate Presbytery at Gairney Bridge. Erskine was not formally deposed by the Church until 1740.
- 1735 Potato cultivation commenced about this time, but did not become common until about 1750.
Society for Encouraging Art, Science, and Literature offer prizes for tree-planting.
- 1736 Porteous Riots in Edinburgh.
Act for burning witches abolished.
Allan Ramsay attempts to open a theatre or playhouse in Edinburgh.
Edinburgh Royal Infirmary buildings opened.
- 1739 Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature* published.
Turnip cultivation began about this time, but did not become common for many years.
- 1740 War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).
Jacobite leaders formed an Association pledging themselves to rise in arms as soon as help came from abroad.
Duncan Forbes proposed to raise Highland regiments, but government refused assent.
The Black Watch enrolled at Aberfeldy.
A year of famine.
- 1741 Act enabling Court of Session to fix price at which corn might be imported.
- 1742 A religious "Revival" commenced in the parish of Cambuslang, Lanarkshire, in which an active part was taken by the Rev. George Whitefield of the Church of England, one of the founders of Methodism.
- 1743 John, Duke of Argyll, died, September 3.
Last wolf killed in Scotland in Morayshire.

- 1744 Broad Bottom Ministry formed and Henry Pelham Prime Minister until his death in 1754.
French expedition in support of the Jacobites dispersed by a storm in the Channel.
Heritors of East Lothian complain of the increasing use of tea.
- 1745 Prince Charles Edward landed in Moidart, July 25.
Battle of Prestonpans, September 21.
Skirmish at Clifton, December 18.
- 1746 Battle of Falkirk, January 17.
Battle of Culloden, April 16.
Prince Charles sails for France, September 20.
Forfeited estates placed in the hands of commissioners until 1784.
Repressive legislation against Scottish Episcopalians.
- 1747 Act of Indemnity passed.
Act disarming the Highlanders.
Highland costume prohibited.
Hereditary jurisdiction abolished.
Seceders become divided into burghers and anti-burghers.
British Linen Banking Company chartered.
Regenting abolished at St. Andrews University.
Bishop Richard Pococke visits Scotland.
- 1748 Further repressive legislation against Episcopalians.
Schoolmasters make unsuccessful appeal for increase of salary.
- 1749 Scheme produced by General Assembly for increasing livings rejected by Parliament.
Stage coach began to run between Edinburgh and Glasgow.
- 1750 Robert Foulis opened a school of art in Glasgow, which did not succeed.
Large sheep farms begun in the Highlands.
Prince Charles visits London.
- 1751 Turnpike Act, imposing a toll for the improvement and keeping of the roads.
- 1752 The Rev. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock founded the Relief Synod. He formed a presbytery in 1761.

- 1753 Execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron (of Lochiel) at Tyburn.
Jacobite intrigues about this time until 1760.
New Town of Edinburgh commenced.
Regenting partly abolished at Aberdeen.
- 1754 Allan Ramsay, artist, formed the Select Society.
First volume of Hume's history published.
- 1755 *Edinburgh Review* first commenced, but only two numbers issued. Commenced again in 1802.
Dr. Webster estimated population of Scotland at 1,250,000.
- 1756 Home's play of *Douglas* produced in Edinburgh.
Seven Years' War (1756-1763).
- 1760 Lord George Murray died in Holland.
Carron Ironworks founded.
A year of famine.
Banks began to open branches in country towns.
- 1761 Death of Archibald, Duke of Argyll.
Select Society takes up the question of improving the reading and speaking of the English language in Scotland.
- 1762 Macpherson's *Fingal* published.
- 1764 Present liturgy of the Scottish Episcopal Church compiled.
Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* published.
Theatre licensed in Edinburgh.
- 1765 Gray the poet visited the Highlands—one of the first men to appreciate the beauty and the grandeur of Highland scenery.
- 1766 Death of Prince James, the Chevalier.
- 1768 Gaelic Church opened in Edinburgh.
- 1769 Thomas Pennant visited Scotland, and again in 1772.
Gaelic translation of the New Testament published.
James Watt commences improvements on steam engine.
First efforts to deepen the Clyde for vessels to sail up to Glasgow.
- 1770 Montgomery Act to amend the law of entail.

- 1770 Beattie's *Essay on Truth* published.
The moderate party in the Church at the height of their influence under the moderatorship of Dr. Alexander Carlyle.
- 1771 Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* published.
- 1772 North Bridge, Edinburgh, finished (commenced in 1763).
- 1773 Dr. Samuel Johnson's tour in the Highlands.
Meal mobs in the valley of the Tay.
Riots of Greenock sailors for higher wages.
- 1775 Serfdom of colliers and salters relieved, and finally removed in 1795.
American War of Independence (1775-1781).
- 1776 Death of David Hume.
Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* published.
- 1777 Highland Society of London founded to promote the improvement and general welfare of the northern parts of the kingdom.
- 1778 Forth and Clyde Canal opened (commenced in 1768).
John Paul Jones with American ships made a descent on the Solway Firth.
Proposed removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities supported by the moderate party in the Church.
David Dale starts manufacture of cotton on a large scale in Lanark.
- 1779 John Paul Jones threatens Leith.
Anti-Roman Catholic riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow.
- 1780 Agitation by the Edinburgh trades guilds for reform of the town council.
Disputes between Edinburgh and Glasgow about fixing the price at which corn might be imported.
- 1781 An enlarged collection of *Paraphrases* published and authorised for use in churches. The first collection, which was only a provisional one, was published in 1745.

- 1782 An attempt in the General Assembly of the Church to carry, against the address to the crown, an amendment condemning Lord North's government defeated by the moderate party.
Famine in the Highlands.
Downfall of Lord North's government.
Manufacture of muslin commenced in Glasgow.
- 1783 *Glasgow Herald* founded (then called the *Advertiser*).
Royal Society of Edinburgh incorporated.
Act against wearing of Highland dress repealed.
The younger Pitt becomes Prime Minister.
- 1784 Last of the forfeited estates restored.
Samuel Seabury consecrated Bishop of the American Episcopal Church at Aberdeen.
- 1786 Burns's poems published at Kilmarnock.
- 1787 Question of reform coming into prominence in some burghs; delegates from fifty-four burghs prepare a scheme of reform for submission to Parliament.
Andrew Meikle completes a satisfactory threshing mill.
- 1788 Death of Prince Charles Edward.
- 1789 Forth and Clyde Canal opened (commenced in 1768).
- 1790 Whigs of Dundee pass an address to the National Assembly (the revolutionist government) of France.
Population of Scotland about 1,500,000, with only about 4000 parliamentary electors.
- 1791 Boswell's *Life of Johnson* published.
Sir John Sinclair's statistical account of Scotland (1791-1799).
- 1792 Excesses of the French Revolutionists cause a reaction against reform.
Act of Toleration for Scottish Episcopalians.
Riot in Edinburgh against Henry Dundas on the king's birthday.
People of Ross-shire attempt to drive the sheep out of their country.

- 1793 Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
Protest in Parliament by whigs against the bias shown by Scottish judges in some recent prosecutions for sedition.
War with France (1793-1815).
- 1795 French royal exiles (Louis XVIII. and his brother, afterwards Charles X.) live in Holyrood Palace until 1799.
Steam used for spinning machinery in Glasgow.
- 1796 The younger whigs of Edinburgh form themselves into a party.
Death of Robert Burns.
- 1797 Scotch militia finally placed on the same footing as the English militia.
- 1798 Society of United Scotsmen (an offshoot of the "Association of the Friends of the People") begin an agitation for reform.
- 1799 Journeymen shoemakers attempt to combine for higher wages.
- 1801 Crinan Canal opened (commenced in 1793).
- 1802 Gaelic translation of the Bible published.
Edinburgh Review founded in the whig interest.
- 1803 An Act of Parliament passed to improve the position of parish schoolmasters.
- 1805 Paisley begins to be noted for its shawls.
Battle of Trafalgar.
- 1806 Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* published.
- 1807 Henry Stuart, Duke of York, cardinal, the last legitimate male of the House of Stuart, died July 13.
- 1808 A succession of bad harvests until 1813.
Peninsular War (1808-1814).
- 1809 *Quarterly Review* founded in London in the tory interest in opposition to the *Edinburgh Review*.
- 1810 Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., minister of Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, established there the first savings bank.
- 1811 A Gaelic School Society formed in Edinburgh.
First steamboat, the *Comet*, launched on the Clyde.

- 1813 Royal Caledonian Society founded in London for supporting and educating the children of Scottish soldiers and sailors killed or disabled in the service of their country.
- 1814 Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* published.
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo.
Great distress among the people in consequence of high prices and low wages after the war.
- 1817 *Scotsman*, *Inverness Courier*, and *Blackwood's Magazine* founded.
State prosecutions for sedition and treason.
- 1818 A company formed in Edinburgh to use gas for lighting purposes.
- 1820 Political riots in Glasgow, Stirling, Dumbarton, and other places.
- 1821 Parliamentary road from Perth to Wick finished (commenced in 1803).
Edinburgh Society of Arts founded.
- 1822 George IV. visits Scotland.
Caledonian Canal finished (commenced in 1803).
- 1823 The Bannatyne Club founded by Sir Walter Scott for the publication of rare Scottish works—dissolved in 1865.
- 1826 Scottish Academy founded.
The Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railway opened—the first in Scotland.
- 1827 Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, first series, published (completed in 1829).
The Rev. Patrick Bell invents a reaping machine.
An Act of Parliament to endow parliamentary churches in the Highlands.
- 1829 Roman Catholic Emancipation Act.
- 1832 Death of Sir Walter Scott.
Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal* commenced.
The Reform Act passed.
- 1834 The Scottish Burgh Reform Act passed.
- 1837 Accession of Queen Victoria.
- 1838 Chartist movement commenced.
- 1841 Seven members of the Presbytery of Strathbogie

- deposed by the General Assembly for obeying the civil courts rather than the General Assembly.
- 1842 Queen Victoria and Prince Albert hold their court in Edinburgh, September 1-13.
- 1843 Disruption of the Church of Scotland, and the Free Church formed, May 18.
- 1845 Scottish Poor Law Act passed.
The Sir Walter Scott monument in Edinburgh finished (commenced 1840).
- 1846 Failure of the potato crops causes much distress, especially in the Highlands.
- 1848 Rutherford Act, to amend law regarding land property.
- 1850 Queen Victoria opened a bridge over the Tweed at Berwick completing a railway between London and Edinburgh. This was described as "The last act of the union."
- Death of Lord Jeffrey.
James Young discovers the art of manufacturing paraffin oil.
- 1853 A National Association formed for the vindication of Scottish rights.
Forbes Mackenzie Act for the regulation of public houses in Scotland, and granting grocers licences for the sale of spirits.
- 1853 The Crimean War (1853-1856).
- 1856 An Act for the better government of the Scottish Universities.
- 1859 Glasgow Water Works (from Loch Katrine) opened by Queen Victoria.
The volunteer force established.
- 1860 Queen Victoria reviews 20,000 volunteers in Edinburgh, August 7.
- 1861 Prince Albert lays foundation stones of the General Post Office and the Industrial Museum Buildings, Edinburgh.
Death of Prince Albert, December 14.
- 1866 New water works for Aberdeen opened by Queen Victoria.

- 1868 Scottish Reform Act passed.
An Act to amend procedure of the Court of Session passed.
- 1870 New buildings for Glasgow University opened.
- 1872 Scottish Education Act passed, August 10.
- 1874 Patronage abolished in the Church of Scotland.
A return of owners of lands and heritages published by the government—a kind of Domesday Book for Scotland.
- 1875 An association formed for the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland.
- 1878 Romanist hierarchy revived in Scotland by the Pope.
The first Tay Bridge opened.
Failure of the City of Glasgow Bank.
- 1879 Collapse of the Tay Bridge during a severe storm and many lives lost, December 28.
- 1880 Act passed for the abolition of landlords' rights of hypothec ¹ for rent in Scotland, to come into force the following year.
- 1881 Queen Victoria reviews 40,000 Scottish volunteers in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh, August 25.
Agrarian agitation against high rents commenced in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire.
- 1882 An Act to amend the law of entail.
Scottish Academy of Music founded in Edinburgh.
- 1883 St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, opened after restoration (commenced in 1872).
Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of crofters in the Highlands of Scotland—report published the following year.
- 1884 An agitation for Highland land law reform commenced in Dingwall. The agitation continued in the western islands, especially in Skye and Lewis, with some rioting, until 1888.
- 1885 Mr. R. B. Finlay's Bill for Promoting Reunion of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland rejected.

¹ Hypothec is a security in favour of a creditor over the property of a debtor while the property continues in a debtor's possession. Thus the landlord had a prior right against other creditors to seize his tenants' crops and cattle for rent.

- 1885 This was followed by an agitation for disestablishment.
 Act passed for restoring the office of Secretary for Scotland.
 Ancient cross of Edinburgh restored by Mr. W. E. Gladstone.
- 1886 The Crofters Act passed to amend the law relating to the tenure of land by crofters in the Highlands and islands of Scotland.
 Resolutions in favour of Church disestablishment in Scotland rejected by the House of Commons, also in 1888, 1890, 1892.
- 1887 Tay Bridge re-opened.
- 1889 Local Government Act for Scotland for election of county councils.
 An Act giving more freedom of teaching to the Scottish Universities and increasing the state grant to £42,000.
 New National Portrait Gallery opened in Edinburgh.
- 1890 Forth Bridge opened by the Prince of Wales (commenced January 1883).
 Great railway strike from December 22 to January 31, 1891.
- 1891 Parliament Hall, Edinburgh (erected 1434), restored.
- 1892 Resolutions in favour of home rule rejected by the House of Commons—also in 1893.
- 1894 Great miners' strike, June 26 to October 22.
- 1897 The new North Bridge, Edinburgh, opened.
- 1899 Boer War (1899-1902).
- 1900 The Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church unite to form the United Free Church (October 31). A minority of the Free Church refuse to enter into the union.
- 1901 Death of Queen Victoria and accession of Edward VII.
- 1904 The House of Lords declares the anti-unionist minority of the Free Church to be the true Free Church and the legal owners of all the Free Church property.

PRIME MINISTERS SINCE THE UNION

APPOINTED

- 1702 Sidney Godolphin, Earl of Godolphin (1645-1712).
- 1710 John Poulett, Earl Poulett (1663-1743).
- 1711 John Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661-1724).
- 1714 Charles Talbot, Earl and afterwards Duke of Shrewsbury (1660-1718).
- 1714 Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax (1661-1715).
- 1715 Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle (1674-1738).
- 1715 Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), afterwards Earl of Orford. Walpole is the first head of the government to whom the title of Prime Minister is usually given.
- 1717 James Stanhope (1673-1721), afterwards first Earl of Stanhope.
- 1718 Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722).
- 1721 Sir Robert Walpole (again).
- 1742 Spencer Compton, first Earl of Wilmington (*d.* 1743).
- 1743 Henry Pelham (1695-1754).
The "Broad Bottomed Ministry," so called because it included representatives of every section of the whig party, which had become very disunited, and would therefore be difficult to upset.
- 1754 Thomas Pelham Holles, first Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne (1693-1768).
- 1756 William Cavendish, first Duke of Devonshire (1720-1764).
- 1757 The Duke of Newcastle (again).
The real head of this ministry was William Pitt (1708-1778), afterwards Earl of Chatham, whose able and energetic rule made British arms so victorious in the Seven Years' War.
- 1762 John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1713-1792).

APPOINTED

- 1763 George Grenville (1712-1770).
- 1765 Charles Watson Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1762).
- 1766 William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham (1708-1778).
- 1767 Augustus Henry Fitzroy, third Duke of Grafton (1735-1811).
- 1770 Frederick North, eighth Lord North (1732-1792), afterwards second Earl of Guildford.
- 1782 The Marquis of Rockingham (again).
- 1782 William Petty Fitz-Maurice, second Earl of Shelburne (1737-1805), afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne.
- 1783 William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, third Duke of Portland (1738-1809). A coalition ministry in which Lord North (tory) and Charles James Fox (1749-1806) (whig) took office.
- 1783 William Pitt (1759-1806).
- 1801 Henry Addington (1757-1844), afterwards first Viscount Sidmouth.
- 1804 William Pitt (again).
- 1806 William Wyndham Grenville, first Lord Grenville (1759-1834). A coalition ministry, of which Charles James Fox (1749-1806) was the real head. It was called the "Ministry of all the Talents" because an attempt was made to unite the ablest men of all parties.
- 1807 The Duke of Portland (again).
- 1809 Spencer Percival (1762-1812).
- 1812 Robert Banks Jenkinson, second Earl of Liverpool (1770-1828).
- 1827 George Canning (1770-1827).
- 1827 Frederick John Robinson, first Viscount Goderich (1782-1859).
- 1828 Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852).
- 1830 Charles Grey, second Earl Grey (1764-1845).
- 1834 William Lamb, second Viscount Melbourne (1779-1848).

APPOINTED

- 1834 Sir Robert Peel, Bart. (1788-1850).
- 1835 Viscount Melbourne (again).
- 1841 Sir Robert Peel (again).
- 1846 Lord John Russell (1792-1878), afterwards first Earl Russell.
- 1852 Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby (1799-1869).
- 1852 George Hamilton Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860).
- 1855 Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865).
- 1858 The Earl of Derby (again).
- 1859 Viscount Palmerston (again).
- 1865 Earl Russell (again).
- 1866 The Earl of Derby (again).
- 1868 Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield.
- 1868 William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898).
- 1874 The Earl of Beaconsfield (again).
- 1880 William Ewart Gladstone (again).
- 1885 Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, third Marquis of Salisbury (1830-1903).
- 1886 William Ewart Gladstone (again).
- 1886 The Marquis of Salisbury (again).
- 1892 William Ewart Gladstone (again).
- 1894 Archibald Philip Primrose, fifth Earl of Rosebery.
- 1895 The Marquis of Salisbury (again).
- 1902 Arthur James Balfour.
- 1905 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908).
- 1908 Herbert Henry Asquith.

LORD ADVOCATES OF SCOTLAND SINCE THE UNION

APPOINTED

- 1692 Sir James Stewart.
- 1709 Sir David Dalrymple (died 1721).
- 1711 Sir James Stewart (again).
- 1714 Thomas Kennedy (died 1754).
- 1714 Sir David Dalrymple (again).
- 1720 Robert Dundas (1685-1753), afterwards Lord Arniston.
- 1725 Duncan Forbes of Culloden (1685-1747).
- 1737 Charles Erskine (1680-1763), afterwards Lord Tinwald (in Dumfriesshire).
- 1742 Robert Craigie of Glendoick (Perthshire) (1685-1760).
- 1746 William Grant (1701?-1764), afterwards Lord Prestongrange.
- 1754 Robert Dundas (1713-1787), afterwards Lord Arniston, son of the former Robert Dundas (1720).
- 1760 Sir Thomas Miller, Bart. (1717-1789), afterwards Lord Glenlee.
- 1766 Sir James Montgomery, Bart., of Stanhope, Peeblesshire (1721-1803).
- 1775 Henry Dundas (1742-1811), afterwards Viscount Melville, son of the first-mentioned Robert Dundas (1720).
- 1783 The Hon. Henry Erskine (1746-1817).
- 1784 Sir Ilay Campbell, Bart. (1734-1823).
- 1789 Robert Dundas (1758-1819), afterwards Lord Arniston, son of the second Robert Dundas (1754).
- 1801 Charles Hope (1763-1851), afterwards Lord Granton.
- 1804 Sir James Montgomery, Bart., of Stanhope (1766-1839), son of the former Sir James Montgomery.

APPOINTED

- 1806 The Hon. Henry Erskine (again).
- 1807 Archibald Campbell (died 1820), afterwards adopted the surname Colquhoun.
- 1816 Alexander Maconochie (1777-1861), afterwards Lord Meadowbank.
- 1819 Sir William Rae, Bart. (1769-1842).
- 1830 Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), afterwards Lord Jeffrey.
- 1834 Sir William Rae (again).
- 1835 Sir John Archibald Murray (1779-1859), afterwards Lord Murray.
- 1839 Andrew Rutherford (1791-1854), afterwards Lord Rutherford.
- 1841 Sir William Rae (again).
- 1842 Duncan McNeill (1793-1874), afterwards Baron Colonsay and Oronsay.
- 1846 Andrew Rutherford (again).
- 1851 James Moncrieff (1811-1895), afterwards Baron Moncrieff of Tulliebole.
- 1852 John Inglis (1810-1891), afterwards Lord Glencorse.
- 1852 James Moncrieff (again).
- 1858 John Inglis (again).
- 1858 Charles Baillie (1804-1879), afterwards Lord Jervis-woode.
- 1859 James Moncrieff (again).
- 1866 George Patton (1803-1869), afterwards Lord Glenalmond.
- 1868 Edward Strathearn Gordon (1814-1879), afterwards Baron Gordon.
- 1868 James Moncrieff (again).
- 1869 George Young (1819-1907), afterwards Lord Young.
- 1874 Edward Strathearn Gordon (again).
- 1876 William Watson (1827-1899), afterwards Lord Watson.
- 1880 John McLaren, afterwards Lord McLaren.
- 1881 John Blair Balfour (1837-1905), afterwards Baron Kinross of Glasclune.
- 1885 John Hay Athole Macdonald, afterwards Lord Kingsburgh.
- 1886 John Blair Balfour (again).

APPOINTED

- 1886 John Hay Athole Macdonald (again).
1888 James Patrick Bannerman Robertson, afterwards
Baron Robertson of Forteviot.
1891 Sir Charles John Pearson, afterwards Lord Pearson.
1892 John Blair Balfour (again).
1895 Sir Charles John Pearson (again).
1896 Andrew Graham Murray, afterwards Baron Dunedin
of Stenton.
1903 Charles Scott Dickson.
1905 Thomas Shaw.
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SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND

After the Treaty of Union with England a Secretary of State was appointed for Scottish affairs, the first being the Earl of Mar, afterwards leader of the Rebellion of 1715, who held office until the death of Queen Anne.

The office was suspended by Walpole, who was anxious to have the affairs of Scotland conducted in obedience to his own principles.

The fall of Walpole in 1742 led to a revival of the office and Lord Tweeddale was appointed to it, but he proved incapable of dealing with the Rebellion of 1745 and was dismissed the following year. The office was now once more abolished and the affairs of Scotland were placed in the hands of the Duke of Argyll, who as Earl of Islay had managed them for many years during Walpole's administration. Henceforth the management of Scottish affairs was informally placed in the hands of the most competent Scotsman available, while the Lord Advocate undertook the management of Scottish

measures in Parliament. The tendency of this was to lessen the distinctively Scottish element in the administration, but on the other hand the fact that the management of Scottish affairs was not specially connected with any high office saved Scotland from the danger of becoming, like Ireland, a mere pawn in the degrading game of party politics.

The office was revived by Act of Parliament in 1885, and has since been held by the following:—

- 1885 Charles Henry Gordon Lennox, Duke of Richmond
(1818-1903).
- 1886 Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart.
- 1886 John William Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie (1847-1887).
- 1886 Arthur James Balfour.
- 1887 Schomberg Henry Kerr, Marquis of Lothian (1833-
1900).
- 1892 Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. (again).
- 1895 Alexander Hugh Bruce, Lord Balfour of Burleigh.
- 1903 Andrew Graham Murray.
- 1903 John Adrian Louis Hope, Marquis of Linlithgow.
- 1905 John Sinclair.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

(SOME NOTABLE SCOTSMEN SINCE THE UNION)

ABERCROMBY, Sir Ralph (1734-1801), *b.* Menstrie, Clackmannanshire. A distinguished soldier; served in the Seven Years' War. M.P. for Clackmannanshire 1774-1780. Commanded an expedition to act against the French in Egypt in 1801 and was mortally wounded in the Battle of Alexandria. He was buried in Malta and there is a monument to him in St. Paul's Cathedral. His second son, General Sir John Abercromby (1772-1817), captured Mauritius in 1809. His third son, James (1776-1858), was speaker of the House of Commons (1835-1839) and was then created Baron Dunfermline.

ABERDEEN, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of (1784-1860), *b.* Edinburgh. He was Prime Minister (1852-1855) at the time of the Crimean War.

ADAM, Alexander, LL.D. (1741-1809), *b.* near Forres, son of a small farmer. He was rector of the High School, Edinburgh (1768-1809), and had Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Brougham, and other distinguished Scotsmen among his pupils. Author of *Roman Antiquities* (1791).

ADAM, Robert (1728-1792), *b.* Kirkcaldy, Fife. A distinguished architect, some time M.P. for Kinross-shire. Built the Register House and the University, Edinburgh, the infirmary in Glasgow, and some well-known buildings in London. Died in London and buried in Westminster Abbey. His father, WILLIAM ADAM (1689-1748), of Maryburgh, Fife, was also a noted architect. Several other members of this family were men of eminence.

AIRD, Thomas (1802-1876), *b.* Bowden, Roxburgh. Minor poet. *The Devil's Dream* is his best known work.

ALISON, Sir Archibald (1792-1867), *b.* Shropshire, son of the Rev. Archibald Alison, an Episcopalian minister in Edinburgh. Sheriff of Lanarkshire 1834. Author of a *History of Europe during the French Revolution* (1833-1842) and a *History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon* (1852-1859). His son, Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, G.C.B., *b.* Edinburgh in 1826, a distinguished soldier.

ALLAN, David (1744-1796), *b.* Alloa. A noted Scottish artist. Designed illustrations for Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd."

ALLAN, Sir Hugh (1810-1882), *b.* Saltcoats, Ayrshire. An eminent shipbuilder, and founder of the Allan Line of steamboats.

ALLAN, Sir William (1782-1850), *b.* Edinburgh. A Scottish historical painter. President of the Royal Scottish Academy, 1841.

ANDERSON, James (1662-1728), *b.* Edinburgh. Antiquary. Author of a treatise vindicating the independence of Scotland, 1705.

ARBUTHNOT, John (1667-1735), *b.* Arbuthnot, Kincardineshire. Son of an Episcopalian minister; a physician and writer in London; best known as the respected friend of Pope and Swift.

ARGYLL, John Campbell, second Duke of (1678-1743), created Duke of Greenwich 1719. A distinguished soldier and statesman; served under the Duke of Marlborough and distinguished himself at the Battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet; suppressed the Rebellion of 1715 and took a leading part in the affairs of Scotland. His brother ARCHIBALD (1682-1761), Lord Islay, who succeeded him as third duke, was for many years the virtual ruler of Scotland. Both brothers died without issue. GEORGE JOHN DOUGLAS CAMPBELL (1823-1900), eighth duke. A distinguished statesman and writer of the reign of Queen Victoria.

ARMSTRONG, John (1709-1779), *b.* Castleton Manse, Roxburghshire. Physician and poet in London; friend of the poet Thomson. Author of a poem on "The Art of Preserving Health."

ATHOLL, John Murray (1659-1724), first Duke of. Leader of Highland Jacobites at time of the union. His son, William, Marquis of Tullibardine, took part in the Jacobite risings, was outlawed, and died a prisoner in the Tower in 1746. His next son, JAMES (1690?-1764), who succeeded him as second duke, did much by tree-planting and in other ways to promote industry and to develop the resources of the country. A younger son, Lord GEORGE MURRAY (1694-1760), commanded the Jacobite army at Culloden and died an exile in Holland. The present ducal family of Atholl is descended from Lord George Murray.

AYTOUN, William Edmondstoune (1813-1865), *b.* Edinburgh. Writer to the Signet, Sheriff of Orkney, 1852, Professor of Rhetoric in Edinburgh University, 1845. D.C.L. of Oxford. A writer of ballads. His best known work is *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers* (1848).

BAILLIE, Lady Grizel (1665-1746), daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, married son of Robert Baillie of Jerviswood. She wrote songs, the best known of which is "And werena my heart licht I wad dee."

BAILLIE, Joanna (1762-1851), *b.* Bothwell Manse in Lanarkshire. Poetess. Chief works, the *Plays on the Passions* (1798-1836). Died at Hampstead, where she spent a great part of her life.

BAIRD, Sir David (1757-1829), *b.* Newbyth, Haddingtonshire. A distinguished general. Led the storming column at the siege of Seringapatam in India in 1799 and captured the Cape of Good Hope in 1806. He was second in command at the Battle of Corunna, 1809, where he lost his left arm.

BAIRD, James (1802-1876), *b.* Kirkwood, near Old Monkland. An ironmaster and a liberal benefactor of the Church of Scotland. In 1871 he founded the "Baird Lectures" for the defence of orthodox theology in Scotland.

BALLANTYNE, James (1772-1833) and John (1774-1821). Brothers, natives of Kelso. Edinburgh publishers. Sir Walter Scott, whose works they printed, was a secret

partner in their business, which did not prove very successful and ended in failure in 1826.

BALLANTYNE, Robert Michael (1825-1894), *b.* Edinburgh, nephew of Scott's printers. Writer of tales for boys.

BALMERINO, Arthur Elphinstone, sixth Lord (1688-1746). Took part in the rebellion of 1745, was taken prisoner at the Battle of Culloden and beheaded on Tower Hill. (Balmerino in Fifeshire.)

BARNARD, Lady Anne (1750-1825), daughter of James Lindsay, fifth Earl of Balcarres, married Andrew Barnard, Colonial Secretary to Lord Macartney, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, where she lived for some years. She was the author of "Auld Robin Gray."

BEATTIE, James (1735-1803), *b.* Laurencekirk. Professor of Moral Philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1760. Poet and essayist. Chief works: *Essay on Truth* (1770), a reply to David Hume, and *The Minstrel* (1771-1774).

BEGG, Rev. James, D.D. (1808-1883), *b.* New Monkland Manse, Lanarkshire. Free Church minister of Newington, Edinburgh, 1843-1883. Orator, philanthropist, social reformer, and an upholder of Scottish orthodoxy.

BELHAVEN, John Hamilton, second Baron (1656-1708). (Belhaven in Haddingtonshire.) Strong supporter of the Revolution of 1688 and of the Darien scheme. Made a famous speech against the union in the Scottish Parliament in 1706.

BELL, Rev. Andrew, D.D. (1753-1832), *b.* St. Andrews and educated there. He became a clergyman of the Church of England and an educational reformer. When "The National Society for the Education of the Poor" was founded by the Church of England in 1811, Dr. Bell became superintendent of it. He died at Cheltenham, leaving a large fortune for educational purposes, half of it for St. Andrews.

BELL, Henry (1767-1830), *b.* Torphichen, Linlithgow. Father of steam navigation; launched a steamboat, *The Comet*, on the Clyde in 1812.

BELL, Henry Glassford (1803-1874), *b.* Glasgow. Sheriff of

Lanarkshire. Author of a well-known poem on Mary, Queen of Scots.

BELL, Rev. Patrick, LL.D. (1799-1869), *b.* near Dundee. Minister of Carmylie, Forfarshire. Inventor of the reaping machine, 1827.

BERWICK, James Fitzjames, Duke of (1670-1734), natural son of James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister of the Duke of Marlborough, *b.* Moulins, France. A great French general.

BLACK, Adam (1784-1874), *b.* Edinburgh. An Edinburgh publisher. Purchased the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in 1827 after the Constable's failure.

BLACK, Joseph (1728-1799), *b.* Bordeaux, of Scottish extraction. Chemist and physician. Professor of Chemistry and Medicine first in Glasgow and afterwards in Edinburgh. He discovered "latent heat" and has been called the founder of the modern science of chemistry.

BLACK, William (1841-1898), *b.* Glasgow. Journalist and novelist.

BLACKIE, John Stuart (1809-1895), *b.* Glasgow. Professor of Greek in Edinburgh, 1852-1882. A versatile writer in prose and verse. Died in Edinburgh.

BLACKLOCK, Thomas, D.D. (1721-1791), *b.* Annan. Blind from childhood. Minister for some time of Kirkcudbright. A poet. It was a letter from him that prevented Robert Burns from sailing to the West Indies in 1786.

BLACKWOOD, William (1776-1834), *b.* Edinburgh. An Edinburgh publisher; founded *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1817.

BLAIR, Hugh (1718-1800). Born and died in Edinburgh. Minister of the High Church, Edinburgh, and Professor of Belles Lettres in the University. His lectures and sermons obtained a great reputation.

BLAIR, Robert (1699-1746), *b.* Edinburgh. Minister of Athelstanford in Haddingtonshire. Author of a well-known poem "The Grave" (1743). His third son, ROBERT BLAIR (1741-1811), was Lord President of the Court of Session.

BONAR, Rev. Horatius, D.D. (1808-1889), *b.* Edinburgh.

Free Church minister in Edinburgh. A well-known hymn-writer.

BOSTON, Thomas (1676-1732), *b.* Duns, in Berwickshire. Minister of Ettrick in Selkirkshire. Author of a work entitled *The Fourfold State* (1720) which was long regarded as a standard exposition of Calvinistic theology, and also of an interesting *Autobiography*, which was not published until 1776.

BOSWELL, James (1740-1795), *b.* Edinburgh, son of Lord Auchinleck, a judge in the Court of Session. Educated for the law. His *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1791) is admitted to be our greatest biography.

BRAXFIELD, Robert Macqueen, Lord (1722-1799), *b.* near Lanark. A noted Scottish judge.

BREWSTER, Sir David (1761-1868), *b.* Jedburgh. An eminent scientist. Appointed Principal of Edinburgh University, 1859.

BRODIE, William (Deacon Brodie). Deacon of the Edinburgh Wrights' Incorporation. Assumed leadership of a gang of burglars and was hanged in 1788.

BROUGHAM, Henry Brougham, Lord (1778-1868), *b.* Edinburgh and there educated at the High School and University. Entered Parliament in 1810. A leading whig. Lord Chancellor 1830-1834.

BROWN, John (1722-1787), *b.* Perthshire. Burgher minister of Haddington. Author of the *Dictionary of the Bible* (1768) and a *Self-Interpreting Bible* (1778). His great-grandson, Dr. JOHN BROWN (1810-1862), *b.* Biggar, a noted essayist, author of *Horæ Subsecivæ* (Leisure Hours, 1858-1861).

BROWN, Thomas (1778-1820), *b.* Kirkmabreck Manse, Kirkcudbrightshire. A Scottish philosopher. He was colleague to Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University.

BRUCE, James (1730-1794), *b.* and *d.* at Kincaid, Stirlingshire. Made a famous journey to Abyssinia. Author of *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile* (1791).

BRUCE, Michael (1746-1767), *b.* Kinnesswood, Kinrossshire. A poet.

BRUCE, Thomas, *see* Elgin.

BUCHANAN, Dugald (1716-1768), *b.* Balquhiddy, Perthshire.
A Gaelic religious poet.

BUCHANAN, Robert, D.D. (1802-1875), *b.* St. Ninians,
Stirlingshire. A leader in the Free Church Disruption
and a minister in Glasgow. Author of *History of the
Ten Years' Conflict* (1849).

BURNET, Gilbert (1643-1715), *b.* Edinburgh; *d.* Clerkenwell,
London. Whig Bishop of Salisbury. Friend of
William III. Author of a *History of the Reformation*.

BURNS, Sir George (1795-1890), *b.* Glasgow. A Glasgow
merchant and philanthropist, and one of the founders of
the Cunard Steam Packet Company in 1839.

BURNS, Robert (1759-1796), *b.* Alloway, near Ayr; *d.*
Dumfries. The national poet of Scotland.

BURT, Edward (*d.* 1755 in London). Roadmaker with
General Wade in the Highlands. Author of *Letters
from the North of Scotland* (1754).

BURTON, John Hill, D.C.L. (1809-1881), *b.* Aberdeen.
Historiographer Royal of Scotland. Author of a
History of Scotland in eight volumes (1867-1870) and
several other works.

BUTE, John Stuart, third Earl of (1713-1792). Tutor to
George III. Prime Minister 1762-1763. (*See* Sir Charles
Stuart.)

CAIRD, John, D.D. (1820-1898), *b.* Greenock. Principal of
Glasgow University 1873-1898. A great preacher.

CAMERON, Donald (1695?-1748), *b.* Achnacarry, Inverness-
shire. "The Gentle Lochiel" took prominent part in
the Rebellion of 1745. Died an exile in France. His
brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron (1707-1753), was hanged
in London, the last to suffer death in the Jacobite
cause.

CAMPBELL, Sir Colin, *see* Lord Clyde.

CAMPBELL, Rev. George (1719-1796), *b.* Aberdeen. Principal
of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Author of the famous
Dissertation on Miracles (1762) in answer to Hume.

CAMPBELL, John, Lord Campbell (1779-1861), *b.* Cupar, Fife,
son of the parish minister. Lord Chancellor 1859.

Author of *Lives of the Chief Justices* (1849-1857) and *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* (1845-1847).

CAMPBELL, John Francis, of Islay (1822-1885). Gaelic scholar. Author of *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (1860-1862), said to be one of the most important contributions ever made to the study of folklore.

CAMPBELL, Thomas (1777-1844), *b.* Glasgow; *d.* Boulogne, buried in Westminster Abbey. Poet. Chief work, *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799).

CANDLISH, Robert Smith, D.D. (1806-1873), *b.* and *d.* in Edinburgh. One of the principal Free Church leaders in the Disruption of 1843.

CARLYLE, Alexander, D.D. (1722-1805), *b.* Cummertrees Manse, Dumfriesshire. Minister of Inveresk, near Edinburgh 1748-1805. Leader of the moderate party in the Church of Scotland. His *Autobiography* was published in 1860.

CARLYLE, Thomas (1795-1881), *b.* Ecclefechan, in Dumfriesshire; *d.* in Chelsea, London. A great historical writer. Chief works: *Sartor Resartus* (1833-1834), *The French Revolution* (1837), *History of Frederick II. commonly called Frederick the Great* (1858-1865).

CARSTAIRS, William (1649-1715), *b.* Cathcart, near Glasgow. Presbyterian divine. Was chaplain to William of Orange; took a leading part in the Revolution Settlement of Scottish Church affairs and became principal of Edinburgh University in 1703; strongly supported the Treaty of Union. During the reign of William his influence in Scottish affairs was so great that he was popularly known as "Cardinal" Carstairs.

CATHCART, William Schaw, Earl, tenth Baron Cathcart in peerage of Scotland (1755-1843). A distinguished general. A younger son, Sir George Cathcart (1794-1854), also a distinguished general, was killed at the Battle of Inkermann.

CHALMERS, Rev. Thomas, D.D., D.C.L. (1780-1847), *b.* Anstruther, in Fifeshire; *d.* suddenly in Edinburgh. Founded the Free Church of Scotland in 1843. A great orator, a social reformer, and a voluminous writer.

- CHAMBERS, William (1800-1883), and his brother Robert (1802-1871). Both born at Peebles. Edinburgh booksellers and authors. Founded *Chambers's Journal* 1832.
- CLERK, Sir John, of Penicuik (1676-1755). Antiquarian writer.
- CLYDE, Colin Campbell, Lord (1792-1863), *b.* Glasgow. A distinguished general. Served in the Peninsular War, the Crimean War, and the Indian Mutiny. Buried in Westminster Abbey.
- COCKBURN, Alison (*née* Rutherford) (1713-1795), daughter of the Laird of Fairniee, in Selkirkshire, married Patrick Cockburn, advocate. Author of "The Flowers of the Forest." Was for many years the queen of Edinburgh society and discerned the genius of Sir Walter Scott in his early childhood.
- COCKBURN, Henry, Lord (1779-1854), *b.* Edinburgh (?). Nephew of Henry Dundas. He was a Scottish judge. A leading man among the Scottish whigs, and a zealous supporter of Parliamentary reform.
- COLONSAY, Duncan McNeill, Lord (1793-1874), *b.* in the island of Oronsay, Argyllshire. A Scottish judge. His brother, Sir John McNeill (1795-1863), was an Asiatic diplomatist.
- CONSTABLE, Archibald (1774-1827), *b.* Carnbee, Fifeshire. An Edinburgh publisher. He published for the chief writers of the time, including Sir Walter Scott, and was also the publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*. The firm of Constable & Co. was largely involved in the crisis of 1826 (*see* James Ballantyne). In 1812 he purchased the copyright of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
- COUTTS, Thomas (1735-1822), *b.* Edinburgh. Founded the London banking house of Coutts & Co. Grandfather of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.
- CRUDEN, Alexander (1701-1770), *b.* Aberdeen. Author of an admirable *Concordance of the Holy Scriptures* (1737).
- CULLEN, William (1710-1790), *b.* Hamilton. An eminent physician, and for many years one of the medical professors of Edinburgh University. Author of several medical works.

- CUMMING, Rev. John, D.D. (1807-1881), *b.* in the parish of Fintray, Aberdeenshire. Minister of the Scottish Church, Covent Garden, London, 1832-1879. Noted for his exposition of prophecy.
- CUMMING, Roualeyn George Gordon (1820-1866), of Altyre, in Elginshire. An African explorer and hunter. Author of *The Lion Hunter of South Africa* (1858).
- CUNNINGHAM, Allan (1784-1842), *b.* parish of Keir, Dumfriesshire. Poet and man of letters, and a friend of James Hogg and Sir Walter Scott. His sons also distinguished themselves as writers, viz., Captain Joseph Davey (1812-1851) wrote a history of the Sikhs; Major-General Sir Alexander (1814-1893) wrote several books on Indian subjects; Peter (1816-1859), an antiquary, wrote a *Handbook of London*; and Francis (1820-1875) edited the works of Marlowe, Massinger, and Ben Jonson.
- CUNNINGHAM, Rev. John, D.D., LL.D. (1819-1893), *b.* Paisley. Became Principal of St. Andrews University in 1886. Author of *The Church History of Scotland* (1859).
- CUNNINGHAM, Rev. William, D.D. (1805-1861), *b.* Hamilton. One of the leaders in the Disruption Controversy. On the death of Dr. Chalmers in 1847 he became Principal of the Free Church College, Edinburgh.
- CURRIE, James (1756-1805), *b.* Kirkpatrick-Flemming Manse, Dumfriesshire. Studied medicine and obtained a good practice in Liverpool. Author of some medical works, but is best known as the first editor of the works of Robert Burns, 1800.
- DALE, David (1739-1806), *b.* Stewarton, Ayrshire. Started cotton-spinning in Lanarkshire in 1778.
- DALHOUSIE, John Andrew Broun-Ramsay, Marquis of (1812-1860), *b.* and *d.* at Dalhousie Castle, Midlothian. A great Indian statesman.
- DALRYMPLE, *see* Hailes and Stair.
- DICK, James (1743-1828), *b.* Forres. A London and West Indian merchant. Left the "Dick Bequest" of £113,000 to promote higher learning among the parish schoolmasters of Elgin, Banff, and Aberdeen.

- DICK, Robert (1811-1866). Native of Clackmannanshire and a baker in Thurso, Caithness-shire. A self-taught geologist and botanist.
- DONALDSON, James (1751-1830), *b.* Edinburgh. An Edinburgh newspaper proprietor and bookseller. Left £240,000 to found Donaldson's Hospital for poor children in Edinburgh.
- DOUGLAS, John (1721-1807), *b.* Pittenweem, son of a shop-keeper. Became an army chaplain and eventually Bishop of Salisbury. Wrote several works, including a *Letter on the Criterion of Miracles* (1754) against David Hume.
- DOUGLAS, Sir William Fettes (1822-1891), *b.* Edinburgh. A distinguished artist.
- DRUMMOND, George (1687-1766), a native of Edinburgh, of which he was six times Lord Provost. Helped to establish a medical faculty in Edinburgh University, and founded the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.
- DRUMMOND, Henry (1851-1897), *b.* Stirling. Professor of Natural Science in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883) and other works.
- DRUMMOND, James (1816-1877), *b.* Edinburgh. A historical painter.
- DUFF, Rev. Alexander, D.D. (1806-1878), *b.* near Pitlochry, in Perthshire. A great Indian missionary.
- DUNCAN of Camperdown, Adam Duncan, Viscount (1731-1804), *b.* Dundee. A distinguished admiral. Defeated the Dutch at the Battle of Camperdown 1797. There is a monument to him in St. Paul's Cathedral.
- DUNCAN, Rev. Dr. Henry (1744-1828). Minister of Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, and there founded the first savings bank in 1810.
- DUNDAS, Henry, *see* Melville, Viscount.
- DUNDAS, Robert (1685-1753), of Arniston, Midlothian, M.P. for Midlothian and Lord Advocate. Gave much attention to Scottish affairs in Parliament. Raised to the bench of Scottish judges as Lord Arniston and became President of the Court of Session. His son,

Robert (1713-1787), became Lord Advocate, and afterwards President of the Court of Session, and a younger son, Henry, became Viscount Melville. (*See Melville.*)

DUNDONALD, Thomas Cochrane, Earl of (1775-1860), *b.* Annsfield, Hamilton. A distinguished admiral and for some time Member of Parliament. For outspoken criticism of naval abuses he became unpopular with those in authority. In 1814 he was arrested and imprisoned on a false charge of fraud and degraded from all his honours, which were afterwards restored to him. He was one of the first to advocate the application of steam power to warships. Buried in Westminster Abbey.

DYCE, William (1806-1864), *b.* Aberdeen. Historical and religious painter. Executed frescoes in the House of Lords, Buckingham Palace, etc.

EDWARD, Thomas (1814-1886), son of a Fifeshire militiaman; *b.* Gosport. Settled as a shoemaker in Banff and became a noted self-taught naturalist.

ELGIN, Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of (1766-1841). Served in the army, and held diplomatic appointments. He made a collection at Athens of remains of Grecian art, which were brought to England in 1812 and are now in the British Museum, where they are known as the "Elgin Marbles." His son, JAMES BRUCE, Earl of Elgin (1811-1863), negotiated the commercial treaty of Tientsin with China in 1858, and was again sent to China to enforce that treaty in 1860. The following year he became Governor-General of India. He died at Dharmasala in the Punjab.

ELIOTT, *see* Heathfield and Minto.

ELPHINSTONE, George Keith, *see* Keith.

ELPHINSTONE, Mountstuart (1779-1859). Son of the eleventh Lord Elphinstone. An Indian statesman, Governor of Bombay. Author of a *History of India* and other works.

ERSKINE, Ebenezer (1680-1754), *b.* Chirnside, Berwickshire. Minister of Portmoak in Kinross-shire and afterwards of Stirling. Founder of the Secession Church under the

name of the "Associate Presbytery" at Gairney Bridge in Kinross-shire in 1733. His brother, Ralph (1685-1752), *b.* Northumberland, was minister of Dunfermline, but left the Established Church to join the Secession in 1737. Author of *Gospel Sonnets* and *Scripture Songs*.

ERSKINE, Henry (1746-1817), second son of the tenth Earl of Buchan; *b.* Edinburgh. Some time Lord Advocate and Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. He was a leader of the Edinburgh whigs, a strong supporter of reform, and a highly gifted and cultured orator. His brother, Thomas (1750-1823), *b.* Edinburgh, also a whig leader, served for some time in the navy and in the army, afterwards studied law, and had an eminently distinguished career. In 1806 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Erskine, and was for a short time Lord Chancellor.

ERSKINE, John (1695-1768). Professor of Scots Law in Edinburgh. Author of the *Principles of the Law of Scotland* and the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*. His son, the Rev. John Erskine, D.D. (1721-1803), was colleague of Dr. Robertson, the historian, as minister of the Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, and leader of the evangelical party.

ERSKINE, Thomas (1788-1870), of Linlathen, near Dundee. Educated for the law, which he abandoned for the study of theology. He published several religious works, a cardinal point of his creed being the universal salvation of mankind.

FAIRBAIRN, Sir William (1789-1874), *b.* Kelso. A great engineer, took a leading part in the construction of sea-going vessels of iron.

FALCONER, Hugh (1808-1865), *b.* Forres. Entered the Bengal medical service, and wrote on Indian botany and palæontology. He made the first experiments in growing tea in India.

FALCONER, William (1732-1769), *b.* Edinburgh, son of a barber. Became a sailor. Author of a poem called "The Shipwreck," etc.

FERGUSON, Adam, LL.D. (1723-1816), *b.* Logierait in Perth-

shire. Became chaplain to the Black Watch and was present at the Battle of Fontenoy. Professor first of Natural Philosophy and afterwards of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University. Author of several historical and philosophical works. The only meeting between Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott took place in Professor Ferguson's house in Edinburgh in the winter of 1786-1787.

FERGUSON, James (1710-1776), *b.* Rothiemay, Banffshire. A self-taught astronomer. Author of several scientific works.

FERGUSON, Patrick (1744-1780), *b.* Pitfour, Aberdeenshire. Served in the army and invented the breech-loading rifle.

FERGUSON, James (1808-1886), *b.* Ayr. Author of a *History of Architecture* (1865-1876), *Stone Monuments* (1872), etc.

FERGUSON, Robert (1750-1774), *b.* Edinburgh. Scottish poet.

FERRIER, James Frederick (1808-1864), *b.* Edinburgh. Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews and a writer on metaphysics and philosophy. His aunt, Susan Edmonstone Ferrier (1782-1854), *b.* Edinburgh, was a successful novelist and enjoyed the friendship of Sir Walter Scott.

FETTES, Sir William (1750-1836), *b.* Edinburgh. Lord Provost of Edinburgh; left £166,000 to found Fettes College.

FINDLATER, Andrew, LL.D. (1810-1885), *b.* near Aberdour, in Aberdeenshire. Editor of the first edition of *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (1861-1868) and author of several manuals on scientific subjects.

FLETCHER, Andrew (1655-1716), of Saltoun, East Lothian. His early life was spent largely in travel and adventure, and he took part in Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. He was leader of the party known as the *Squadron Volante* in the last Scottish Parliament and opposed the union with England. He was the author of some political works, and is described as "a sure friend, and an irreconcilable enemy—who would lose his life readily

to serve his country and would not do a base thing to save it."

FORBES, Alexander Penrose (1817-1875), *b.* Edinburgh. Bishop of Brechin. Author of *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (1872).

FORBES, Duncan (1685-1747), *b.* Culloden or Bunchrew, near Inverness. Lord Advocate and President of the Court of Session. Succeeded his brother in the family estates of Culloden. A far-seeing and patriotic statesman. Opposed the Jacobites in 1715 and 1745, and was the first to propose the raising of Highland regiments.

FORBES, Robert (1708-1775), *b.* Rayne, Aberdeenshire. Bishop of Ross and Caithness. Author of *The Lyon in Morning*, which consists of ten volumes of MS., containing matter relating to "the '45." Important extracts from it were published by Robert Chambers in 1834.

FORBES, Sir William, Bart., of Pitsligo (1739-1806), *b.* Edinburgh. Founder of what is now the Union Bank of Scotland.

FORSYTH, Rev. Alexander John, LL.D. (1769-1843), *b.* Belhelvie, in Aberdeenshire, where he became minister in succession to his father. Invented the application of the detonating principle in fire-arms, which was followed by the adoption in 1840 of the percussion cap in the British army.

FOULIS, Robert (1707-1776), *b.* Glasgow. Became printer to the University of Glasgow and issued editions of the classics which were famous for their accuracy and beauty. Along with his brother Andrew (1712-1775) he established a School of Art in Glasgow which produced a great many prints, statues, oil paintings, etc., but financially it proved a failure.

FRASER, Simon, *see* Lovat.

GALT, John (1779-1839), *b.* Irvine. Novelist. Author of many works of fiction, in which Scottish village life is faithfully depicted, with humour, feeling, and a perfect mastery of the Scots dialect.

GARDINER, Colonel James (1688-1745), *b.* Carriden, Linlith-

gowshire. Served under Marlborough and was killed at the Battle of Prestonpans. He was noted for his piety, and his life was written in 1747 by the English Nonconformist divine, Dr. Philip Doddridge.

GED, William (1690-1749), *b.* Edinburgh. Inventor of stereotyping about 1725.

GEDDES, Andrew (1783-1844), *b.* Edinburgh. A noted artist and portrait painter.

GIFFORD, Adam (1820-1887), *b.* Edinburgh. Became a Scottish judge as Lord Gifford, and by his will left large sums of money to the Scottish universities to endow undogmatic lectureships in theology.

GILLESPIE, James (1726-1797), *b.* Roslin (?). Snuff manufacturer in Edinburgh; left money to found a hospital and school in that city.

GILLESPIE, Thomas (1708-1774), *b.* Duddingston, near Edinburgh. Minister of Carnock, near Dunfermline, and founder in 1752 of the Relief Synod.

GILRAY, James (1757-1815). Son of a Lanark soldier, but born in Chelsea. A famous caricaturist.

GLAS, John (1695-1773), *b.* Auchtermuchty, in Fifeshire. Minister of Tealing, near Dundee, and founder of a small religious sect called the Glassites or Sandemanians, from his son-in-law, Robert Sandeman (1718-1771). The great scientist, Michael Faraday, was a devout member of this sect.

GLEN, William (1789-1826), *b.* Glasgow. A minor poet. Author of the well-known Jacobite song, "Wae's me for Prince Charlie."

GLENELG, Charles Grant, Baron (1778-1866), *b.* Calcutta, of Scottish parentage. Had a distinguished parliamentary career and was raised to the peerage in 1835.

GORDON, Alexander, second Duke of (1678?-1728). Jacobite; was at Sheriffmuir; married in 1706 Henrietta Mordaunt (*d.* 1760), daughter of the celebrated general, the Earl of Peterborough. She did much to improve agriculture on her husband's estates in Morayshire. Other land-owners in the north followed her example in the face of much opposition from their farmers.

- GORDON, Lord George (1751-1793), *b.* London, son of the third Duke of Gordon. Served for some time in the navy and afterwards entered Parliament. He was leader in the Anti-Roman Catholic agitation, which led to the Gordon Riots in London in 1780. For this he was tried on a charge of high treason but was acquitted.
- GORDON, Sir John Watson (1788-1864), *b.* Edinburgh. One of the most famous of Scottish portrait painters.
- GORDON, Lord Lewis (*d.* 1754). Son of the second Duke of Gordon; was one of the Jacobite leaders in 1745.
- Gow, Neil (1727-1807), *b.* near Dunkeld. A famous violin player, and the composer of many tunes.
- GRAHAM, Dougal (1724?-1779), *b.* Raploch, near Stirling. Joined Prince Charlie's army and was at Culloden. Was for many years bellman of Glasgow. Author of numerous chapbooks, and of a history in doggerel verse of "the '45."
- GRAHAM, Thomas, *see* Lyndock, Lord.
- GRAHAME, James (1765-1811), *b.* Glasgow. Studied law but subsequently became a clergyman of the Church of England. Author of several poems, the best known of which is "The Sabbath" (1804).
- GRANT, Anne (1755-1838), *b.* Glasgow, daughter of Duncan McVicar, an army officer, and married the Rev. James Grant, minister of Laggan, Inverness-shire. Author of several poems and other works. She had an intimate and appreciative knowledge of the folklore and language of the Highlanders.
- GRANT, Charles, *see* Glenelg, Lord.
- GRANT, Sir Francis (1803-1878), *b.* Edinburgh. Studied for the Scottish bar, but became a noted portrait painter. His brother, Sir James Hope Grant (1808-1875), *b.* Kilgraston, Perthshire, a distinguished soldier, served in the Indian Mutiny and conducted the expedition against China in 1860.
- GRANT, James (1822-1887), *b.* Edinburgh. Served for a short time in the army. A well-known military novelist.
- GRANT, Colonel James Augustus (1827-1892), *b.* Nairn.

Served with distinction in India during the Mutiny, and in 1860-1863 explored the sources of the Nile along with another Indian officer, J. H. Speke.

GRANT, Sir Patrick (1804-1895), *b.* Auchterblair, Inverness-shire. A distinguished soldier, served in India and rose to the rank of Field-Marshal.

GRAY, David (1838-1861), *b.* near Kirkintilloch. A minor poet. Author of *Luggie and other Poems*.

GREGORY, John (1724-1773), *b.* Aberdeen, belonged to a family of eminent scientists. Became Professor of Medicine, first in Aberdeen and afterwards in Edinburgh. His son, James (1753-1821), *b.* Aberdeen, became Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh, and he was the compounder of "Gregory's Mixture." James's son, William (1803-1858), *b.* Edinburgh, was Professor of Chemistry in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh.

GUTHRIE, Rev. Thomas, D.D. (1803-1873), *b.* Brechin. A minister of the Free Church in Edinburgh. A great orator and an earnest advocate of temperance and other social reforms. Author of several religious and social works, including an autobiography.

HADDINGTON, Thomas Hamilton, sixth Earl of (1680-1735). Member of the *Squadron Volante*. Fought on the Royalist side at Sheriffmuir. Wrote a treatise on forest trees which was not published until 1761. He married Helen, daughter of John Hope, of Hopetoun, Haddingtonshire, and with her encouragement and assistance he greatly improved the agriculture of his estates and was one of the first landowners in Scotland to begin tree-planting. He planted Binning Wood, near Berwick, about 1707.

HAILES, David Dalrymple, Lord (1726-1792), *b.* Edinburgh. Became a judge of the Court of Session as Lord Hailes. Author of several historical and antiquarian works.

HALDANE, James Alexander (1768-1851), *b.* Dundee. Served for some years in the navy. He accompanied the Rev. Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, on an evangelistic tour through Scotland and afterwards became the pastor of an independent congregation in Edinburgh.

Author of pamphlets which were very widely read. His elder brother, Robert (1764-1842), *b.* London, but educated in Dundee and Edinburgh, served for some time in the navy, but settled young on an estate which he possessed near Stirling and devoted the rest of his life to religious and philanthropic works.

HALL, Basil (1788-1844), *b.* Edinburgh. Served in the navy and became a writer of travels.

HAMILTON, James Douglas, fourth Duke of, Earl of Arran (1658-1712). One of the leaders of the Jacobite party in Scotland at the time of the union. Killed in a famous duel with Lord Mohun.

HAMILTON, William (1704-1754), *b.* probably at Bangour, in Linlithgowshire. Joined the rebellion of 1745, but was afterwards permitted to succeed to the family estate of Bangour. A poet, author of "The Braes of Yarrow."

HAMILTON, Sir William (1788-1856), *b.* Glasgow. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and called to the Scottish bar. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh University. One of the "Scottish Philosophers."

HANNAY, James (1827-1873), *b.* Dumfries. Author of several novels. Some time editor of the *Edinburgh Courant*.

HARVEY, Sir George (1806-1876), *b.* St. Ninians, near Stirling. A distinguished artist.

HEATHFIELD, George Augustus Elliott, Lord (1717-1790), *b.* Stobs, in Roxburghshire. A distinguished soldier. Served in the War of the Austrian Succession and in the Seven Years' War, and defended Gibraltar against Spain and France, 1779-1783.

HENRY, Robert (1718-1790), *b.* St. Ninians, Stirlingshire. An Edinburgh minister. Author of a *History of Great Britain* (1771-1773).

HERD, David (1732-1810), *b.* Marykirk, Kincardineshire. Clerk in Edinburgh. Editor of a collection of *Ancient Scottish Ballads* (1776).

HOGG, James (1770-1835), *b.* parish of Ettrick, Selkirkshire. A poet, known as the "Ettrick Shepherd."

HOME, Henry, *see* Kames, Lord.

- HOME, Rev. John (1722-1808), *b.* Leith. Sometime minister of Athelstaneford, near Edinburgh. Afterwards private secretary to the Earl of Bute. Wrote plays, the best known of which is *Douglas* (1754).
- HORNER, Francis (1778-1817), *b.* Edinburgh. A leading Edinburgh whig, and one of the contributors to the *Edinburgh Review*.
- HOWIE, John (1735-1793), *b.* Lochgoin, Ayrshire. Farmer at Lochgoin, near Kilmarnock. Author of *The Scots Worthies* (1774), an account of the sufferings of the Covenanters.
- HUME, David (1711-1776), *b.* and *d.* Edinburgh. Philosopher and historian.
- HUME, Joseph (1777-1855), *b.* Montrose. Became surgeon under the East India Company, afterwards Member of Parliament. A political philosopher and social reformer.
- HUME, Sir Patrick, *see* Marchmont, Earl of.
- HUNTER, William (1718-1783), *b.* Long Calderwood, East Kilbride, Lanarkshire. A distinguished surgeon and anatomist. His brother, John (1728-1793), *b.* Long Calderwood, was also a distinguished surgeon and anatomist.
- HYSLOP, James (1798-1827), *b.* Kirkconnel, Dumfriesshire. A minor poet, author of "The Cameronian's Dream" (1821).
- INGLIS, Rev. John, D.D. (1763-1834), *b.* in Perthshire, minister of the Greyfriars Church of Edinburgh, and for many years leader of the moderate party in the Established Church.
- INNES, Cosmo (1798-1874), *b.* Durriss, in Kincardineshire. Professor of Constitutional Law and History in the University of Edinburgh. Author of several historical and antiquarian works.
- INNES, Thomas (1662-1744), *b.* Drumgask, Aberdeenshire. Jacobite and Roman Catholic priest. Author of a *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* (1729), which is the earliest attempt at a science of history.

- IRVING, Edward (1792-1834), *b.* Annan. A preacher of great power, became assistant to Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow. In 1822 he became minister of the Scottish Church in London, but was deposed on a charge of heresy. He then founded a new communion known as "The Catholic Apostolic Church."
- JAMIESON, Rev. John, D.D. (1759-1838), *b.* Glasgow. Minister of a secession congregation in Forfar and afterwards in Edinburgh. Author of an *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808-1809).
- JEFFREY, Francis, Lord (1773-1850), *b.* Edinburgh. Lord Advocate and afterwards judge of the Court of Session. A leader of the Scottish whigs. Best known as a literary critic and editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.
- JOHNSON, James (*d.* 1811). Native of Ettrick. Engraver and publisher of *The Scots Musical Museum* to which Robert Burns was a contributor.
- JOHNSTON, Alexander Keith, LL.D. (1804-1871), *b.* near Penicuik, Midlothian. An eminent modern geographer. Author of the *Royal Atlas*, etc. His son, Alexander Keith (1844-1879), *b.* Edinburgh, was also an eminent geographer.
- JOHNSTONE, James, Chevalier de (1719-1800?), *b.* Edinburgh. Was aide-de-camp to Prince Charles at Culloden and afterwards entered the French service. Left interesting *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746*.
- JONES, Paul (1747-1792), *b.* Arbigland, Kirkcudbrightshire. (His real name was John Paul.) Went to sea, joined the Americans in the War of Independence, and performed some daring exploits, including a descent on the Scottish coast. He afterwards served in the French navy, and subsequently entered the Russian service and became Rear-admiral of the Black Sea fleet. He died in Paris. He is described as a man of excessive vanity and detestable moral character.
- KAMES, Henry Home, Lord (1696-1782), *b.* Kames, Berwickshire. A well-known Scottish judge, writer on Scots law and philosophy.
- KAY, John (1742-1826), *b.* near Dalkeith. Barber at

Dalkeith and Edinburgh. Miniature painter and caricaturist. Author of *Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* with biographical matter (1837).

KEITH, George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount (1746-1823), *b.* Elphinstone Tower, Stirling, son of the tenth Lord Elphinstone. A distinguished naval officer. Commanded the expedition which took the Cape of Good Hope in 1796.

KEITH, James, Marshal (1696-1758), *b.* Inverugie Castle, Aberdeenshire, son of William, ninth Earl Marischal (*d.* 1712). Engaged with his brother George, tenth Earl Marischal (1693-1778), in the Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1719. He afterwards entered the Russian service, which he left in 1747 to join Frederick the Great, who gave him at once the rank of Field-Marshal and greatly relied on his military genius. He was killed in battle at Hochkirch.

KENMURE, William Gordon, Viscount (*d.* 1716). Beheaded for taking part in the rising of 1715.

KILMARNOCK, William Boyd, Earl of (1704-1746). Joined the rebellion of 1745, taken prisoner at Culloden, and beheaded on Tower Hill.

LAIDLAW, William (1780-1845), *b.* Blackhouse, in Selkirkshire. Friend and amanuensis of Sir Walter Scott. Author of the well-known ballad "Lucy's Flittin'."

LAING, David, LL.D. (1793-1878), *b.* Edinburgh. An eminent antiquary. Secretary of the Bannatyne Club, which was founded in 1823, and so called after George Bannatyne (1545-1608), a collector of fifteenth and sixteenth-century poetry.

LAING, Malcolm (1762-1818), *b.* Orkney. Historian. Wrote on the poems of Ossian against Macpherson.

LAUDER, Sir Thomas Dick, Bart. (1784-1848), of Fountainhall, Haddingtonshire. Served for some time in the Cameron Highlanders. Author of *The Wolf of Badenoch*, a Romance (1827), *Morayshire Floods* (1830), *Legendary Tales of the Highlands* (1841), etc.

LESLIE, Sir John (1766-1832), *b.* Largo, Fifeshire, an

eminent scientist. Professor of Mathematics and afterwards of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University.

LIVINGSTONE, David (1813-1873), *b.* Blantyre, Lanarkshire. An African missionary, traveller, and explorer. Died in Africa, buried in Westminster Abbey.

LOCKHART, George (1673-1731), of Carnwath, in Lanarkshire. An ardent Jacobite leader in the British Parliament of the party that attempted to repeal the union. His *Memoirs* form an important source of information about the politics of his time. *The Lockhart Papers* were published in 1817.

LOCKHART, John Gibson (1794-1854), *b.* Cambusnethan Manse, Lanarkshire. Studied law and was called to the Scottish bar, but gave up law for literature. One of the chief supporters of *Blackwood's Magazine* and editor of the *Quarterly Review*. Author of many works, including a well-known biography of Sir Walter Scott, whose eldest daughter, Sophia, he married. His eldest son was the Hugh Littlejohn of Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.

LOGAN, Rev. John (1748-1788), *b.* Soutra, Midlothian. Became minister of South Leith. A minor poet. Author of a version of the "Braes of Yarrow." Claimed to be author of the "Ode to the Cuckoo," which is usually ascribed to Michael Bruce.

LOVAT, Simon Fraser, Lord (1667-1747), *b.* Fannich (?), Ross-shire, M.A. of Aberdeen. A well-known Highland chief, secured by violent means the succession to the estates of his cousin, late Lord Lovat. Outlawed and fled to France, returned and rallied his clan to the government in 1715, for which he received a full pardon and an acknowledgment of his claim to the Lovat estates. Played a double part in 1745, was arrested and brought to London for trial, and was the last man beheaded at the Tower of London.

LYELL, Sir Charles, Bart. (1797-1875), *b.* Kinnordy, Forfarshire. An eminent geologist. Buried in Westminster Abbey.

- LYNEDOCH, Thomas Graham, Lord (1748-1843), of Balgowan, Perthshire. A distinguished soldier; served in the Peninsular War.
- MCADAM, John Loudon (1756-1836), *b.* Ayr. Inventor of a system of roadmaking, known as "macadamising."
- MACAULAY, Thomas Babington, Lord (1800-1859), *b.* Leicestershire, of Scottish ancestry. Wrote for the *Edinburgh Review*. M.P. for Edinburgh. Author of *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842), *History of England from the Accession of James II.* (1848-1855), etc.
- MCHEYNE, Robert Murray (1813-1843), *b.* Edinburgh. Minister at Dundee. Published sermons and hymns.
- MCCOSH, James (1811-1894), *b.* Carskeoch, Ayrshire. Minister at Arbroath and at Brechin, and afterwards joined the Free Church. President of Princeton College in the United States 1868-1888. Author of *The Scottish Philosophy* (1875) and other philosophical works; was a representative of the Scottish philosophy.
- MCCRIE, Rev. Thomas, D.D. (1772-1835), *b.* Duns, in Berwickshire. Became minister of an anti-burgher congregation in Edinburgh; an ecclesiastical historian. His son, Thomas, D.D. and LL.D. (1798-1875), also a historian, was professor in a Presbyterian College in London.
- MCCULLOCH, Horatio (1805-1867), *b.* Glasgow. A celebrated painter of Highland landscapes.
- MACCULLOCH, John (1773-1835), *b.* Guernsey. An army surgeon, also a geologist. Author of *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1819), etc.
- MCCULLOCH, John Ramsay (1879-1864), *b.* Whithorn, Wigtonshire. A political economist.
- MACDONALD, Flora (1722-1790), *b.* South Uist. Noted for the successful manner in which she rescued Prince Charles from his pursuers in June 1746. In 1750 she married Allan Macdonald, of Kingsburgh in Skye, and in 1773 entertained Dr. Samuel Johnson, who describes her as of "middle stature, soft features, gentle manners, and elegant presence." In 1774 she went to America with her husband, who served as Brigadier-General in the British army during the War of Independence. At

the close of the war they returned to Kingsburgh. They had a large family and five of their sons served with distinction in the army and navy.

MACDONALD, George (1824-1905), *b.* Huntly, Aberdeenshire. Scottish poet and novelist.

MACDONALD, John, D.D. (1779-1849), *b.* Reay, Caithness. "The Apostle of the North." Minister of the parish of Urquhart, near Dingwall, and one of the founders of the Free Church in 1843.

MACDONALD, Sir John Alexander (1815-1891), *b.* Glasgow. A distinguished Canadian statesman, whose greatest work was the confederation of the British North American provinces into the dominion of Canada in 1867.

MACDONELL, Alexander (1724?-1761), thirteenth Chief of Glengarry (Pickle the Spy). Professed Jacobitism and was regarded as one of the best of Highlanders, but was in reality a Hanoverian spy.

MCGILL, James (1744-1813), *b.* Glasgow, but emigrated to Canada. Founded the McGill College in Montreal.

MACGREGOR, Robert (Rob Roy) (1671-1734), *b.* Glengyle, in Perthshire, of good ancestry. A Highland freebooter. Joined the Earl of Mar's army in 1715, but was in reality the paid spy of the Duke of Argyll.

MACINTOSH, Charles (1766-1843). A Glasgow manufacturing chemist, patented in 1823 the well-known waterproof cloth invented by Professor James Syme.

MACINTYRE, Duncan (Duncan Bane) (1724-1812), *b.* Glenorchy, Argyllshire. The greatest of the modern Gaelic poets.

MACKAY, Charles, LL.D. (1814-1889), *b.* Perth. Editor of the *Illustrated London News*; a popular song writer.

MACKAY, Robert (Rob. Donn) (1714-1787), *b.* parish of Durness, Sutherlandshire. A noted Gaelic poet.

MACKENZIE, Sir Alexander (1755?-1820), *b.* Inverness. Canadian fur trader. Discovered the Mackenzie river.

MACKENZIE, Alexander (1822-1892), *b.* Logierait, Perthshire. A Canadian statesman.

- MACKENZIE, Alexander (1838-1898), *b.* Gairloch. "The Clan Historian." Author of histories of several Highland clans.
- MACKENZIE, Henry (1745-1831), *b.* Edinburgh. An attorney. Author of *The Man of Feeling* (1773), etc.
- MACKENZIE, John (1806-1848), *b.* Gairloch, Ross-shire. Compiled and edited *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* (1841), etc.
- MACKENZIE, William Forbes (1807-1862). Native Peebles-shire, for which he became Member of Parliament. His Act for the Regulation of Public Houses in Scotland was passed in 1853. His brother, Charles Frederic Mackenzie (1825-1862), Bishop of Central Africa, was a noted missionary.
- MACKINTOSH, Sir James (1765-1832), *b.* Aldourie, Inverness-shire. Recorder of Bombay and afterwards Member of Parliament. A writer on laws and history.
- MACKINTOSH, William, Brigadier (1662-1743), *b.* Borlum, Inverness-shire. One of the Jacobite leaders in 1715. Took an intelligent interest in agriculture and tree-planting.
- MACLAURIN, Colin (1698-1746), *b.* Kilmodan, Argyllshire. An eminent mathematician. Professor of Mathematics first at Aberdeen and afterwards in Edinburgh.
- MCLENNAN, John Ferguson (1827-1881), *b.* Inverness. Author of *Primitive Marriage* (1865), etc.
- MACLEOD, Rev. Norman, D.D. (1812-1872), *b.* Campbelltown, Argyllshire. Minister of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow and one of Queen Victoria's chaplains. Author of tales, essays, poems, etc.
- MACLISE, Daniel (1806-1870), son of a Highland soldier named Macleish, but born at Cork. A noted artist, painted the well-known frescoes of the "Meeting of Wellington and Blucher" and the "Death of Nelson" in the House of Lords.
- MACMILLAN, Daniel (1813-1857), *b.* Island of Arran. Founded along with his brother, Alexander (1818-1896), the publishing firm of Macmillan & Co., London.
- MACMILLAN, John (1670-1753), *b.* Minnigaff, Kirkcudbright-

shire. Founded a sect of the Cameronians into the Reformed Presbyterians.

MCNEILL, Duncan, *see* Colonsay, Lord.

MACPHERSON, James (1736-1796), *b.* Ruthven, Inverness-shire. He published *Fingal, an Epic Poem in six books* (1762) and *Temora, an Epic Poem in eight books* (1763). Macpherson pretended that these were translations of ancient Gaelic poems by Ossian, who flourished in the third century. They are now admitted to have been his own invention.

MACQUEEN, Robert, *see* Braxfield, Lord.

MARTIN, Martin (*d.* 1719), *b.* Isle of Skye. Author of a *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703).

MALLET, David (1698-1765), *b.* near Crieff, in Perthshire. (His real name was Malloch.) A writer of poems and plays. He was befriended by Pope. The authorship of "Rule Britannia" has been claimed for him, but it is usually ascribed to James Thomson.

MARCHMONT, Sir Patrick Hume, Lord Polwarth and afterwards Earl of Marchmont (1641-1724). A Covenanter. Lord Chancellor of Scotland. He was one of the chief supporters of the Treaty of Union in 1707.

MARISCHAL, Earl, *see* Keith.

MAULE, Fox (1801-1874), *b.* Brechin Castle, in Forfarshire. Served in the army, was afterwards a whig Member of Parliament and a supporter of the Free Church. Succeeded his father as Lord Panmure and his cousin as eleventh Earl of Dalhousie.

MAVOR, Rev. William Fordyce, (1758-1837), *b.* New Deer, Aberdeenshire. Became a clergyman and schoolmaster in Oxfordshire, compiler of what was long a well-known spelling book.

MEIKLE, Andrew (1719-1811). Native of Haddingtonshire. Inventor of the drum threshing mill.

MELVILLE, Henry Dundas, Viscount, and Baron Dunira (1742-1811), *b.* Edinburgh, son of Lord Arniston. Educated for the Scottish bar, M.P. for Midlothian 1774, became Lord Advocate in 1775, and for the next thirty years, though holding various offices in the

- government, he had the administration of Scottish affairs in his hands. He was an ardent tory and the ablest and most loyal of the supporters of the younger Pitt. Raised to the peerage in 1802. Shortly afterwards he retired from public life, and lived chiefly at Dunira, near Comrie in Perthshire, and in Edinburgh.
- MICKLE, William Julius (1735-1788), *b.* Langholm, in Dumfriesshire. Minor poet. Author of "There's nae luck about the house."
- MILL, James (1773-1836), *b.* near Montrose, received an appointment in the London office of the East India Company. A writer on political, philosophical, and historical subjects. He was the father of the eminent philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806-1873).
- MILLER, Hugh (1802-1856), *b.* Cromarty. Wrote on geology and other subjects. Was one of the leading supporters of the Free Church.
- MILLER, Patrick (1731-1815), of Dalswinton, Dumfriesshire. Landlord of the farm occupied by Robert Burns at Ellisland. One of the early projectors of steam navigation. He made experiments in steam navigation on Dalswinton Loch in 1788, and afterwards constructed a small model steamboat which was tried on the Thames about 1793.
- MINTO, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Earl of (1751-1814), *b.* Edinburgh. Educated for the English bar, entered Parliament, and became Governor-General of India in 1806. His aunt, Jean Elliot (1727-1805), was author of a version of "The Flowers of the Forest."
- MITCHELL, Sir Thomas Livingstone (1792-1855), *b.* Craigend, Stirlingshire. Served in the Peninsular War and afterwards became an Australian explorer.
- MOFFAT, Robert (1795-1883), *b.* Ormiston, East Lothian. A South African missionary. David Livingstone was married to his daughter.
- MOIR, David Macbeth (1796-1851), *b.* Musselburgh, and became a physician there. Wrote poems for *Blackwood's Magazine* under the pen name of "Delta."
- MONBODDO, James Burnet, Lord (1714-1799), *b.* Monboddo

House, Kincardineshire. Educated for the Scottish bar and became a Scottish judge. A philosophical writer who anticipated the Darwinian theory of the descent of man.

MONRO, Alexander (1697-1767), *b.* London, of Scottish ancestry. An eminent professor of anatomy and surgery in Edinburgh University, where he was succeeded by his son, Alexander Monro (1733-1817), who again was succeeded by his son, Alexander Monro (1773-1859).

MONTGOMERY, James (1771-1854), *b.* Irvine, Ayrshire. Author of several poems and hymns. Was a journalist in Sheffield.

MOORE, John, M.D. (1729-1802), *b.* Stirling, son of a minister. Became a physician first in Glasgow and afterwards in London. Author of novels and other works. His eldest son, Sir John Moore (1761-1809), *b.* Glasgow, was a distinguished general. He was a Scottish M.P., 1784-1790. Served in Corsica, West Indies, Holland, Egypt, Sicily, and Sweden. Introduced a new system of military drill, manœuvre, and discipline at Shorncliffe Camp about 1804, and did much to prepare the efficiency of the army which Wellington afterwards led to victory. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Peninsula in 1808, and killed at the Battle of Corunna in 1809. "No British commander was ever more popular with his officers, none have left a more lasting impress on the troops trained under him."

MORRISON, James (1816-1893), *b.* Bathgate, Linlithgowshire. Secession minister at Kilmarnock, founded in 1843 the sect known as the "Evangelical Union."

MORTON, Thomas (1781-1832), *b.* Leith. A Leith shipbuilder who in 1822 invented the patent slip for docking vessels.

MOTHERWELL, William (1797-1835), *b.* Glasgow. Became Sheriff-clerk-depute of Renfrewshire. An antiquary and poet and journalist. Author of "Jeanie Morison."

MUIR, John, D.C.L., LL.D. (1810-1882), *b.* Glasgow. Was in the service of the East India Company, became an

eminent Sanskrit scholar, and founded a chair of Sanskrit in Edinburgh University in 1862. His brother, Sir William Muir (1819-1905), *b.* Glasgow, was Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces of India, and an eminent Arabic scholar. He was Principal of Edinburgh University.

MUNRO, Sir Hector (1726-1805), of Novar, Ross-shire. A distinguished Indian general.

MUNRO, Hugh Andrew Johnstone (1819-1885), *b.* Elgin, grand-nephew of Sir Hector Munro of Novar. Professor of Latin at Cambridge. Editor of the Latin poet Lucretius, etc.

MUNRO, Sir Thomas (1761-1827), *b.* Glasgow. A distinguished soldier, was Governor of Madras.

MURCHISON, Sir Roderick Impey (1792-1871), *b.* Tarradale, Ross-shire. Served in the Peninsular War. A distinguished geologist.

MURDOCK, William (1754-1839), *b.* Auchinleck, Ayrshire. Inventor of coal gas, which was first used for lighting purposes in London in 1803.

MURRAY, Alexander (1775-1813), *b.* parish of Urr, Kirkcudbrightshire. Began life as a shepherd, became minister of Urr, and afterwards Professor of Oriental Languages in Edinburgh.

MURRAY, Lord George, *see* Atholl.

MURRAY, Sir John, Bart., of Broughton (1715-1777). Native of Peeblesshire, was secretary to Prince Charles in 1745, captured after Culloden, and saved his life by betraying his fellow Jacobites.

MURRAY, John (1745-1793), *b.* Edinburgh. Founded the well-known London publishing firm of John Murray.

MUSHET, David (1772-1847), *b.* Dalkeith. Discovered about 1801 the black-band ironstone, which greatly increased the iron industry of Scotland, and is now almost the only ore smelted in Scottish furnaces.

NAIRNE, Caroline Oliphant, Baroness (1766-1845), *b.* Gask, Perthshire. Married her cousin, Major Nairne, who afterwards became sixth Lord Nairne. She wrote many songs, including the "Land of the Leal," "The Laird o' Cockpen," and "The Auld House."

- NAPIER, Sir Charles (1786-1860), *b.* Merchiston Hall, near Falkirk. An admiral. Commanded the Baltic fleet during the Crimean War.
- NAPIER, Sir Charles James (1782-1853), *b.* Westminster, cousin of the preceding. A distinguished general. Served in the Peninsular War. Conquered Scinde in India in 1843. His brother, Sir William Francis Patrick Napier (1785-1860), *b.* Ireland, served in the Peninsular War, and was author of the well-known *History of the War in the Peninsula* (1828-1840).
- NAPIER OF MAGDALA, Robert Cornelis Napier, Lord (1810-1890), *b.* Ceylon. An Indian soldier. Commanded the expedition to Abyssinia in 1868.
- NAPIER, Robert (1791-1876), *b.* Dumbarton. Constructor of the first marine engine 1823. With his cousin, David Napier (1790-1869), did much to develop shipbuilding on the Clyde. One of the founders of the Cunard Steam Packet Company 1839.
- NASMYTH, Alexander (1758-1840), *b.* Edinburgh. Portrait and landscape painter, best known by his portrait of Robert Burns. His son, Patrick (1787-1831), was a noted landscape painter, and another son, James (1808-1890), *b.* Edinburgh, was the inventor of the steam-hammer in 1839.
- NEILL, James George Smith (1810-1857), *b.* near Ayr. Served as colonel in the Indian Mutiny and was killed in the advance on Lucknow.
- NEILSON, James Beaumont (1792-1865), *b.* Shettleston, in Lanarkshire. Inventor of the hot-blast furnace for smelting iron about 1825.
- NELSON, Thomas (1780-1861), native of Stirlingshire. Founder of the Edinburgh publishing firm of Thomas Nelson & Sons. His son, William (1816-1887), restored the Old Parliament Hall in Edinburgh.
- NICOLL, Robert (1814-1837), *b.* Little Tullybeltane, Perthshire. Became editor of a radical newspaper in Leeds. Wrote *Songs and Lyrics*.
- OGILVIE, John, LL.D. (1797-1867), *b.* Marnoch, Banffshire. Author of *The Imperial Dictionary* (1847-1850).

- OLIPHANT, Laurence (1829-1888), *b.* Capetown, of Scottish ancestry. Was secretary to the Earl of Elgin, whom he accompanied to China. Wrote books of travel, etc.
- OLIPHANT, Mrs. Margaret (*née* Wilson) (1828-1897), *b.* Wallyford, near Musselburgh. A well-known writer of novels and biographies.
- PARK, Mungo (1771-1805), *b.* Foulshiels, in Selkirkshire. A great traveller and explorer. Author of *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1799), etc.
- PATERSON, Robert (1715-1801), *b.* Hawick. "Old Mortality." A stonemason, devoted the last forty years of his life to the repairing and erecting of gravestones to Covenanters.
- PATERSON, William (1658-1719), *b.* parish of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire. A far-seeing financier and free trader. Founder of the Bank of England in 1694 and was one of the promoters of the Darien scheme.
- PATON, Sir Noel (1821-1901), *b.* Dunfermline. A notable artist.
- PERTH, James Drummond, fourth Earl of (1648-1716), was created titular Duke of Perth by the exiled King James. His son, JAMES (1675-1720), second Duke of Perth, commanded the Jacobite cavalry at Sheriffmuir, and his son, JAMES (1713-1747), third Duke of Perth, "a brave and good" man, commanded the left wing at Culloden. The third duke's brother, LORD JOHN DRUMMOND (*d.* 1747), was an important man among the Jacobites and took a prominent part in the "'45."
- PHILLIP, John (1817-1867), *b.* Aberdeen. A painter of Scottish and Spanish subjects.
- PITCAIRNE, Archibald (1652-1713). An Edinburgh physician. A Jacobite and Episcopalian, and a keen satirist of Presbyterianism. He was one of the first promoters of Scottish literature.
- PLAYFAIR, Rev. John (1748-1819), *b.* Benvie, near Dundee. A minister of the Church of Scotland, became Professor first of Mathematics and then of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University. Was in his time a noted scientist.

- PLAYFAIR, Lyon, Lord (1819-1898), *b.* India. Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh. Afterwards a Member of Parliament. Wrote on chemistry and political economy.
- PORTEOUS, John (*d.* 1736), *b.* Edinburgh, son of a tailor. Enlisted in the army, served in Holland, and about 1715 became captain of the Edinburgh Town Guard. He is remembered chiefly in connection with the Porteous Riot in Edinburgh in 1736, when he was hanged by the mob.
- PRINGLE, Thomas (1789-1834), *b.* Blaiklaw, in Roxburghshire. Went to Cape Town where he started a whig newspaper, which was suppressed by the Governor. He wrote several poems, the best known of which is "The Scottish Emigrant's Farewell."
- QUEENSBERRY, James Douglas, Duke (1662-1711), *b.* Sanquhar Castle. Educated at Glasgow University. Served under Dundee, but joined William of Orange in 1688. Royal Commissioner to the last Scottish Parliament which passed Treaty of Union. Secretary of State for Scotland, 1709.
- RAE, John (1813-1893), *b.* Stromness, Orkney. A British North American traveller and explorer.
- RAE, Rev. Peter (1671-1748), *b.* Dumfries. Minister of Kirkconnel. Wrote a history of the rebellion of 1715.
- RAEBURN, Sir Henry (1756-1823), *b.* Stockbridge, Edinburgh. Scotland's greatest portrait painter. Among those whose portraits he painted were Sir Walter Scott, David Hume, James Boswell, Sir David Baird, Henry Mackenzie, Neil Gow, Lord Melville, Sir John Sinclair, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn, etc.
- RAMSAY, Allan (1686-1758), *b.* Leadhills, Lanarkshire. A well-known poet. His son, Allan (1713-1784), was a distinguished artist, and became portrait painter to King George III.
- RAMSAY, The Very Rev. Edward Bannerman Burnet, LL.D. (1793-1872), *b.* Aberdeen. Dean of Edinburgh. Author of *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (1857), etc.
- RAMSAY, John (1736-1814), of Ochertyre, in Perthshire. Left

a valuable work in manuscript on *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, which was published in 1888.

RAY, James (*d.* 1745-1746). Was with the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden and published *A Complete History of the Rebellion* (1746).

REID, Rev. Thomas, D.D. (1710-1796), *b.* Strachan Manse, Kincardineshire. The greatest of the Scottish philosophers. Professor of Philosophy, first in King's College, Aberdeen, and afterwards in Glasgow University. Author of *Inquiry into the Human Mind* (1764) and other philosophical works.

REID, Sir William (1791-1858), *b.* Kinglassie, Fifeshire. Served with distinction in the Peninsular War, but best known as a writer on winds and storms.

RENNIE, John (1761-1821), *b.* Phantassie, Haddingtonshire. A civil engineer and famous bridge builder. His best known bridges are Waterloo Bridge, Southwark Bridge, and London Bridge, all on the Thames. London Bridge was completed in 1831 by his son, Sir John (1794-1847), who was engineer to the Admiralty.

RICHARDSON, Sir John (1787-1865), *b.* Dumfries. Served in the Arctic expeditions of Parry and Franklin, and was a noted naturalist.

ROBERTSON, George Croom (1842-1892), *b.* Aberdeen. Professor of Mental Philosophy and Logic at University College, London. A noted psychologist and philosopher.

ROBERTSON, Joseph (1810-1866), *b.* Aberdeen. A celebrated antiquary. One of the founders of the Aberdeen Spalding Club (1839), so called after John Spalding, an Aberdeen diarist of the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth.

ROBERTSON, Rev. William, D.D. (1721-1793), *b.* Borthwick Manse, Midlothian. Principal of Edinburgh University and leader of the moderate party in the Church. A celebrated historian.

ROB ROY, *see* Macgregor.

ROSS, Sir John (1777-1856), *b.* Inch Manse, Wigtonshire. An Arctic explorer. His nephew, Sir James Clerk Ross

- (1800-1862), also an Arctic explorer, discovered the North Magnetic Pole in 1831.
- ROSS, William (1762-1790), *b.* Gairloch, Ross-shire. A Gaelic poet.
- ROSSLYN, Alexander Wedderburn, Earl of (1733-1805), *b.* Edinburgh. Studied law and entered Parliament. He was Chief Justice, as Lord Loughborough, in Lord North's administration, and was for a time Lord Chancellor under the younger Pitt.
- ROY, William (1726-1790), *b.* Miltonhead, Lanarkshire. A Major-General. Conducted the first trigonometrical survey of the United Kingdom, and was author of a valuable work on the *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* (1793).
- RUDDIMAN, Thomas (1674-1757), *b.* Boyndie, Banffshire. Printer to the University of Edinburgh, and keeper of the Advocates' Library. A Latin grammarian. Did much to promote learning and literature in Scotland.
- RUNCIMAN, Alexander (1736-1785), *b.* Edinburgh. A historical painter.
- RUSKIN, John (1819-1900), *b.* London, of Scottish parents. A celebrated writer and art critic.
- RUSSELL, John Scott (1808-1882), *b.* near Glasgow. An engineer. Inventor of the "wave principle" of ship-building. Built a large ship called the *Great Eastern*.
- SANDEMAN, Robert, *see* Glas, John.
- SCOTT, David (1806-1849), *b.* Edinburgh. A noted painter. His brother, William Bell Scott (1811-1890), was a poet and painter.
- SCOTT, Rev. Hew, D.D. (1791-1872), *b.* Haddington. Minister, Anstruther. Compiler of the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* (1866-1871), giving brief biographical sketches of the parish ministers of Scotland since the Reformation.
- SCOTT, Michael (1789-1835), *b.* Cowlairs, Glasgow. Writer of fiction and contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*.
- SCOTT, Sir Walter (1771-1832), *b.* Edinburgh. Poet and novelist.
- SELKIRK, Alexander (1676-1721), *b.* Largo, Fife. Lived alone for four years on the island Juan Fernandez on the west

coast of South America and said to have been the original of Robinson Crusoe.

- SELLAR, William Young (1825-1890), *b.* near Golspie, in Sutherlandshire. Professor of Latin in Edinburgh University. Author of works on the Roman poets.
- SHAIRP, John Campbell (1819-1885), *b.* Houston House, Linlithgowshire. Principal of St. Andrews University and Professor of Poetry at Oxford. Author of several works on poetry, etc.
- SIMPSON, James Young (1811-1870), *b.* Bathgate, in Linlithgowshire. An eminent Edinburgh physician and professor. Was the first to use chloroform as an anæsthetic.
- SIMSON, Robert (1687-1768), *b.* Ayrshire. Professor of Mathematics in Glasgow University. His *Elements of Euclid* (1756) was the basis of nearly all editions of Euclid for over a century. He was the nephew of the Rev. John Simson (1668-1740), Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University, who was suspended from all ecclesiastical functions by the General Assembly in 1729 for heterodox teaching on the Incarnation. The "Simson heresy" was a very noted one at the time.
- SINCLAIR, Sir John, Bart. (1754-1835), *b.* Thurso Castle, Caithness. Sat in Parliament for over thirty years and was for half a century a leading man in the affairs of Scotland. Author of many works, including the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-1799), comprising a description of every parish in Scotland, mainly by the help of the parish ministers.
- SINCLAIR, John (1683-1750). Master of Sinclair, son of Henry, eighth Lord Sinclair (in Fifeshire). Served under Marlborough in Flanders, and took part in the rising of 1715. Wrote *Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1715*, printed in 1858.
- SKENE, William Forbes, D.C.L. (1809-1892), *b.* Inverie, on Loch Nevis, Inverness-shire. Historian and antiquary. Wrote on Scottish and Gaelic subjects.
- SMEATON, John (1724-1792), *b.* near Leeds, of Scottish extraction. Civil engineer. Made the Forth and Clyde

Canal, built the third Eddystone Lighthouse, and many bridges, including those still standing at Banff, Perth, and Coldstream.

SMILES, Samuel, M.D., LL.D. (1812-1904), *b.* Haddington. Author of *Self Help* (1859), *Lives of the Engineers* (1861), and other works, including several biographies.

SMITH, Adam (1723-1790), *b.* Kirkcaldy. Educated at Glasgow and Oxford. Professor of Logic in Glasgow University and afterwards of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University. Author of an *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and other works.

SMITH, Sydney (1771-1845), *b.* Woodford, Essex. Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. One of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*.

SMITH, William Robertson (1846-1894), *b.* Keig, Aberdeenshire. A learned theologian and orientalist. Professor of Arabic and University Librarian at Cambridge.

SMOLLETT, Tobias George (1721-1771), *b.* Dalquhurn, Dumbartonshire. A great novelist.

SOMERVILLE, Mrs. Mary (1780-1872), *b.* Jedburgh, daughter of Admiral Sir William Fairfax. Married Dr. William Somerville of the Army Medical Board. She was a well-known writer on natural science.

SPOTTISWOODE, Alicia Ann (1811-1900), wife of Lord John Scott, son of the Duke of Buccleuch. Poetess and author of "Annie Laurie."

STAIR, Sir John Dalrymple, Earl of (1648-1707) (Stair in Ayrshire). Lord Advocate of Scotland under William III. Restored Presbyterianism in the Church of Scotland after the Revolution. On him rests the chief blame for the Massacre of Glencoe. He was one of the chief supporters of the Treaty of Union. His son, John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair (1673-1747), *b.* Edinburgh, better known as Marshal Stair, served under the Duke of Marlborough, and commanded the army at Dettingen until George II. took command in person. During the reign of George I. he was ambassador to

Paris, where he did much to counteract the schemes and plans of the Jacobites.

STELL, Sir John (1804-1891), *b.* Aberdeen. A sculptor.

STEPHENSON, George (1781-1848), *b.* near Newcastle-on-Tyne, of Roxburghshire parentage. Built the first locomotive in 1814. Constructed the Stockton and Darlington (1825) and the Liverpool and Manchester (1830) railways. His son, Robert (1803-1859), was also a noted engineer.

STERLING, John (1806-1843), *b.* Kames Castle, Bute. Was ordained a deacon of the Church of England, but gave up the Church for literature. He is best remembered as the friend of Thomas Carlyle, who wrote a biography of him.

STEVENSON, Robert (1772-1850), *b.* Glasgow. An engineer and builder of lighthouses, including the Bell Rock Lighthouse, 1807-1812. His grandson, Robert Louis Balfour Stevenson (1850-1894), *b.* Edinburgh, was a distinguished novelist.

STEWART, Dugald (1753-1828), *b.* Edinburgh, son of the Rev. Matthew Stewart, Professor of Mathematics in Edinburgh University. Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University and one of the most noted of the Scottish philosophers.

STRANGE, Sir Robert (1721-1792), *b.* Kirkwall, Orkney. An engraver. He joined Prince Charlie in 1745 and fought at Culloden.

STRATHNAIRN, Hugh Rose, Lord (1801-1885), *b.* Berlin, of Highland ancestry. Served with great distinction in the Indian Mutiny.

STRUTHERS, John (1776-1853), *b.* East Kilbride, Lanarkshire. Minor poet. Author of "The Poor Man's Sabbath" (1804).

STUART, Sir Charles (1753-1801), son of the Earl of Bute, who was Prime Minister in the reign of George III. A distinguished soldier, served in the American War of Independence, and was the most successful of the British generals in the early part of the war with France. Captured Minorca in 1798.

STUART, John McDougall (1815-1866), *b.* Dysart, in Fifeshire. An Australian traveller and explorer.

- STUART, John, LL.D. (1813-1877), *b.* Forgue, Aberdeenshire. Antiquary. Author of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (1856-1867), *The Book of Deer* (1869), etc.
- SYME, James (1799-1870), *b.* Edinburgh. An eminent surgeon and professor in Edinburgh University. Invented in 1818 a method of making waterproof afterwards patented in 1823 by Charles Mackintosh, a Glasgow manufacturing chemist.
- SYMINGTON, William (1763-1831), *b.* Leadhills, Lanarkshire. In 1802 he constructed at Grangemouth the *Charlotte Dundas*, a tug, the first successful steamboat ever built. It was used for some time on the Forth and Clyde Canal.
- TAIT, Archibald Campbell (1811-1882), *b.* Edinburgh. Archbishop of Canterbury.
- TAIT, Peter Guthrie (1831-1901), *b.* Dalkeith. An eminent mathematician and scientist. Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University.
- TANNAHILL, Robert (1774-1810), *b.* Paisley. Weaver and poet. Author of "Jessie the Flower o' Dunblane" and other well-known songs.
- TELFORD, Thomas (1757-1834), *b.* Westerkirk, Dumfriesshire. A civil engineer. Constructed the Caledonian Canal, more than 1000 miles of road and 1200 bridges in Scotland, the Dean Bridge, Edinburgh, The Menai Strait Suspension Bridge, etc.
- TENNANT, William (1784-1848), *b.* Anstruther, Fifeshire. Professor of Oriental Languages at St. Andrews and a poet.
- THOMSON, George (1757-1851), *b.* Limekilns, Fifeshire. Author of a *Collection of Scottish Songs and Airs* (1799-1818), to which Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott contributed.
- THOMSON, James (1700-1748), *b.* Ednam Manse, Kelso. The poet of the *Seasons*.
- THOMSON, James (1834-1882), *b.* Port Glasgow, a sailor's son. Called the poet of despair. Author of "The City of Dreadful Night" (1874) and other poems.
- THOMSON, Rev. John (1778-1840), *b.* Dailly Manse, Ayrshire. Became minister of Duddingston. He was one of the

best of Scottish landscape painters, and at the same time faithful to his parochial duties.

THOMSON, Joseph (1858-1895), *b.* Penpont, Dumfriesshire. An African explorer.

TULLOCH, Rev. John (1823-1886), *b.* Bridge of Earn, Perthshire. A well-known writer and divine. Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.

TYTLER, William (1711-1792), *b.* Edinburgh. A Writer to the Signet and a historian. His son, Alexander Fraser Tytler (1747-1813), was Professor of History in Edinburgh University and afterwards became a judge as Lord Woodhouselee, one of whose sons was Patrick Fraser Tytler (1791-1849), who wrote a valuable *History of Scotland* (1828-1843).

URE, Andrew, M.D. (1778-1857), *b.* Glasgow. An eminent chemist. Author of several scientific works, including a *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* (1839).

VEITCH, William, LL.D. (1794-1885), *b.* Spittal, near Jedburgh. Author of an important work on *Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective* (1848).

WADE, George, Field-Marshal (1673-1748), grandson of a major of Dragoons in Cromwell's army. Commanded in the Highlands for several years after the rebellion of 1715, and made roads there.

WARDLAW, Elizabeth, Lady (1677-1727), daughter of Sir Charles Halkett of Pitfirrane, in Fifeshire, married Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie, near Dunfermline. Author of the ballad "Hardyknute" (1719), about the Battle of Largs, which appeared anonymously and created much interest. Sir Walter Scott said it was the first poem he ever learned and the last he should ever forget.

WATT, James (1736-1819), *b.* Greenock. Made important improvements in the steam engine.

WEDDERBURN, Alexander, *see* Rosslyn.

WHYTE-MELVILLE, George John (1821-1878), *b.* Mount-Melville, in Fifeshire. Major in the Coldstream Guards. Served with the Turkish cavalry in the Crimea. Author of several well-known novels.

- WILKIE, Sir David (1785-1841), *b.* Cults Manse, Fifeshire. A great artist. His greatest work is said to be "The Chelsea Pensioners listening to the News of Waterloo," which was painted for the Duke of Wellington.
- WILSON, Alexander (1766-1813), *b.* Paisley. Author of "Watty and Meg" (1792) and other poems. Went to America and became a great ornithologist.
- WILSON, Sir Daniel, LL.D. (1816-1892), *b.* Edinburgh. Became President of the University of Toronto. Author of several works on antiquities and archæology.
- WILSON, John (1785-1854), *b.* Paisley. Known by the pen-name "Christopher North." Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University. One of the ablest of the contributors to *Blackwood's Magazine*.
- WILSON, John Mackay (1804-1835), *b.* Tweedmouth. Wrote poems. Began to collect the series of tales known as *Wilson's Tales of the Borders* (1834-1841).
- WODROW, Robert (1679-1734), *b.* Glasgow, son of James Wodrow, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University. Became minister of Eastwood, in Renfrewshire. Author of a *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland 1660-1688* (1721), *Analecta, or a History of Remarkable Providences* (published 1842) (which deals largely with the supernatural experiences of the Covenanters), and other works.
- YOUNG, Andrew (1807-1889), *b.* Edinburgh. Schoolmaster in Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Author of the well-known hymn, "There is a Happy Land."
- YOUNG, James (1811-1883), *b.* Glasgow. Studied chemistry, became manager of chemical works in Lancashire, and in 1847-1850 conducted experiments which led to the manufacture of paraffin oil.

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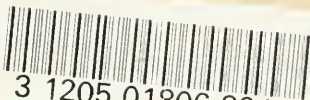
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